

BIDEN ADDS TO VOTE TOTALS IN 3 STATES AND URGES ‘PATIENCE’ WITH THE COUNT



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ADRIANA ZEHBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A demonstration in Philadelphia in support of the continuing ballot count, top, and a rally in Phoenix by backers of President Trump.

‘It’s Coming After All of Us’: Covid’s Surge at Record High

This article is by Julie Bosman, Audra D. S. Burch and Sarah Merivosh.

RACINE, Wis. — They were feverish and desperate, confined to their cars in a slow single-file line as they waited for coronavirus tests.

A few rolled down the windows to let the 72-degree breeze from Lake Michigan inside and leaned back on the headrests, eyes closed. One family of five, with three children in the back seat of a minivan, had already driven around for hours, trying to find a testing site that was not full.

The coronavirus is surging out of control across the country, and more than 117,000 cases were reported on Thursday, more new cases than on any other day of the pandemic. In 43 states, new infections are climbing steadily higher. To many Americans, the pandemic’s march feels inexorable.

“We knew it was just a matter of time,” said Matt Christensen, sitting in the passenger seat of the minivan alongside his wife.

In a single day across America, the coronavirus churned through homes, workplaces, hospitals, schools and laboratories. From dawn to nightfall on Thursday, the worst day of the pandemic in

Cases Pass 117,000 in One Day as the Virus Marches On

terms of new cases, snapshots offered glimpses of the virus’s persistent spread and devastating fallout: In Cleveland, lab workers began another grinding day of processing coronavirus tests. In Minot, N.D., a hospital scrambled to find space for the crush of coronavirus patients who came through the doors. In Unionville, Conn., grieving relatives finalized plans for the funeral of a family’s 98-year-old matriarch, who died from the virus.

And in Missouri, officials interrupted the day with a jarring announcement: A person who tested positive for the coronavirus last week disregarded orders to isolate and worked as an election judge in suburban St. Louis on Tuesday. The person, whom St. Charles County officials did not identify, has since died.

On Thursday morning, governors began what is now a familiar routine, pleading in front of news cameras for Americans to do their

Continued on Page A6

Police Chat Board Yields Clues Of Racism by Ranking Official

By WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM and ALAN FEUER

For more than 20 years, an on-line chat board called the Rant has been the place where New York City police officers have gone in secret to complain about their jobs — not infrequently using blatantly racist and misogynistic language.

But even by the website’s vitriolic standards, scores of recent posts by a user who calls himself “Clouseau” have been especially disturbing.

Between the summer of 2019 and earlier this fall, “Clouseau” posted hundreds of messages on the Rant, many of which attacked Black people, Puerto Ricans, Hasidic Jews and others with an unbridled sense of animus.

He called the Bronx district attorney, Darcel D. Clark, who is Black, “a gap-toothed wildebeest” and referred to former President Barack Obama as a “Muslim savage.”

Now, city investigators say they have amassed evidence that “Clouseau” is a high-ranking police official. And not just any high-ranking official — the one assigned to an office responsible for combating workplace harassment in the Police Department.

The inquiry was conducted by

Accused Inspector Led Anti-Harassment Unit in N.Y.P.D.

the City Council’s Oversight and Investigations Division, which put together its findings in a 13-page draft report that was obtained by The New York Times. The division is overseen by Councilman Ritchie Torres.

The police official, Deputy Inspector James F. Kobel, adamantly denied that he had written the racist messages. The posts have been taken down since the Council began its inquiry, and the profile deleted.

“I am unfamiliar with any of these posts,” he said in a brief interview. “I’m unfamiliar with ‘Clouseau.’ I don’t post on the Rant.”

He declined to comment further. After The Times asked the Police Department about the posts last month, its Internal Affairs Bureau opened an investigation.

Inspector Kobel denied the allegations to his superiors, a police official said. But on Thursday, he

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Trump Makes Baseless Fraud Claim as He Continues to Lose Ground

By JONATHAN MARTIN and KATIE GLUE

Joseph R. Biden Jr. gained ground in Pennsylvania, Nevada and Georgia on Thursday as the slow-moving vote count in those contested battleground states moved him closer to capturing an electoral majority and defeating President Trump.

As an anxious country waited to learn the winner, the two candidates emerged toward day’s end to make remarks that were dramatically different in tone and content.

In a brief appearance before reporters in Wilmington, Del., Mr. Biden said he remained confident that he would ultimately prevail but did not lay claim to the White House.

“Democracy’s sometimes messy,” said Mr. Biden, who remained ahead in Arizona on Thursday night but lost some ground there. “It sometimes requires a little patience as well. But that patience has been rewarded now for more than 240 years with a system of governance that’s been the envy of the world.”

He urged calm and emphasized that “each ballot must be counted.”

Hours later, in a stunning news conference, Mr. Trump lied about the vote counting underway in several states, conjuring up a conspiracy of “legal” and “illegal” ballots being tabulated and claiming without evidence that states were trying to deny him re-election.

“They’re trying to steal an election, they’re trying to rig an election,” the president said from the White House briefing room. He also baselessly suggested nefarious behavior in Philadelphia and Detroit, cities that he called “two of the most corrupt political places.”

Mr. Trump’s remarks, mostly

read off notes, were at times more valedictory than defiant. Far from insisting that he would stay in power, he used much of his appearance to complain about pre-election polls, demonize the news media and try to put the best face on Tuesday’s results, trumpeting his party’s congressional gains. He did not take questions.

For all of his complaints, Mr. Trump has only himself and his own party to blame for the delayed vote count in a number of states.

State and local Republican officials refused to let localities tally mail-in votes before Tuesday in some states. And because of Mr. Trump’s monthslong attacks on mail ballots, more Democrats than Republicans voted in that fashion, which has allowed Mr. Biden to pick up the bulk of the votes arriving in the mail.

In his comments, Mr. Trump expressed no concern about the protracted vote count in Arizona, a state where he has been cutting into Mr. Biden’s lead as more ballots are tabulated.

Republican leaders offered no immediate response to Mr. Trump’s remarks, but a small

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LYNSEY WEATHERSPOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A worker examining a mail-in ballot in Atlanta on Thursday.

Blue California Votes to Rein In Liberal Agenda

This article is by Thomas Fuller, Shawn Hubler, Tim Arango and Conor Dough.

OAKLAND, Calif. — The message that California voters sent in the presidential election was unequivocal: With almost two-thirds of ballots counted so far going for Joseph R. Biden Jr., the nation’s most populous state put up mammoth numbers for the Democrats. But dig a little deeper into the results and a more complex picture of the Golden State voter emerges, of strong libertarian impulses and resistance to some quintessentially liberal ideas.

In a series of referendums, voters in California rejected affirmative action, decisively shot down an expansion of rent control and eviscerated a law that gives greater labor protections for ride-share and delivery drivers, a measure that had the strong backing of labor unions. A measure that would have raised taxes on commercial landlords to raise billions for a state that sorely needs revenue also seemed on track for defeat.

The full force of the election results provided something of a gut check for liberals in a state that plays a big role in the Democratic Party and often offers insights into where the rest of the nation might be headed.

“The results in California show the Democrats that you can go too far,” said Bob Shrum, a former Democratic strategist and the director of the Dornsife Center for the Political Future at the University of Southern California. “California is a very liberal state that is now resistant to higher taxes and welcoming to the new gig economy, which is where the industry was created.”

That is not to say California is lurching rightward. The state is unwaveringly Democratic up and down the ranks of its government. Democrats have a supermajority in the Legislature, and the gover-

Continued in Election 2020, Page 6

Frenzied Rush Of Falsehoods From the Top

This article is by Matthew Rosenberg, Jim Rutenberg and Nick Corasaniti.

A disinformation push to subvert the election is well underway, and it is coming straight from President Trump and his allies. The goal: to somehow stop a victory by former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., or, failing that, undermine his legitimacy before he can take office.

Mr. Trump’s false declaration of victory in the small hours of Wednesday morning quickly united hyperpartisan conservative activists and the standard-bearers of the right-wing media, such as Breitbart, with internet trolls and QAnon supporters behind a singular viral message: #StopTheSteal.

But its impact has become apparent far beyond the internet, with the theme dominating conservative talk radio and the prime-time lineup on Fox News. There, Trump-aligned hosts pressed the false notion that the vote counting in the crucial, still-undecided states was illegitimate — the sort of message that was drawing flags on Twitter and Facebook but flourishing elsewhere.

“How big of a mistake is it for the Democrats to have kind of a burn-it-all-down approach,” Laura Ingraham asked on her program Wednesday night, “to destroy the integrity of our election process with this mail-in, day-of-registration efforts, counting after the election’s over — dumping batches of votes a day, two days, maybe even three days after the election?”

The messaging was far blunter from the president himself, who used a Thursday evening briefing at the White House to reel off a series of baseless attacks on an election system he described as “rigged” by Democrats trying to “steal an election.” It was the con-

Continued in Election 2020, Page 5

AN ALTERNATE REALITY

False Claims Isolate Trump

A presidency born in a lie about Barack Obama’s birthplace appeared on the edge of ending in a lie about his own faltering bid for re-election.

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THE TALLY

Florida 2000 Redux? Sort Of

James Baker led the G.O.P. challenge that put George W. Bush in the White House, and he says trying to stop the vote is not a viable option.

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SOCIAL LOCKDOWN

Slowing the Chatter

New rules from Facebook, Twitter and other companies made their products worse — but helped avert their greatest fears, Kevin Roose writes.

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VOTING DISRUPTIONS

A New Threat: Hand Sanitizer

Interference by foreign governments was considered a danger to the election, but some snags resulted from more mundane malfunctions.

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EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

David Brooks

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Inside The Times

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY

An article in 1904 told readers the winners of the election would be indicated by searchlights.

Who Won? Long Ago, the Sky Knew

For the quickest news of election results, who needs 5G when you've got the equivalent of a bat-signal?

Before Election Day in 1904, The New York Times told readers that it would announce the results of the presidential race by flashing a searchlight from the top of the building it would soon inhabit, on 43rd Street in Times Square. If a steady light beamed to the west, that meant President Theodore Roosevelt was re-elected. If a steady light pointed to the east, that meant the Democratic challenger, Alton B. Parker, prevailed.

Signals would also be used to indicate the winner of the New York governor's race between Lt. Gov. Frank W. Higgins and Judge D. Cady Herrick, as well as the overall party makeup of Congress — an up-and-down light to the west would mean Republican control; the same maneuver to the east would signal a win for Democrats. The Times noted that, with the top of the

building rising nearly 360 feet, the lights could be seen within a 30-mile radius. That would make it convenient, it said, for people from Elizabeth, N.J., or Tarrytown, N.Y., to view the results — or, for that matter, anyone “who doesn't want to stay out all night at a telegraph office.”

In 1912, the paper began using arrangements of red, white and green lights. In 1920, the code of movements involved circles and semi-circles. The searchlights continued even after The Times began using its scrolling news bulletin “zipper” in Times Square in 1928. And they remained through the 1950s, when the lights and zipper were joined by an 85-foot electric tote board, later known as the “thermometer,” on the side of the Times Tower that displayed accumulating tallies of electoral votes. (The Times moved to its current headquarters on Eighth Avenue in 2007.)

Despite the other advances, perhaps it was hard to argue with just sticking your head out the window. **MARK SHIMABUKURO**

On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

WILSON WINS

November 6, 1912. Taking advantage of a Republican Party split, Woodrow Wilson piled up 435 of 531 electoral votes to become only the second Democrat to win the presidential election since 1860 (Grover Cleveland was the other). Wilson's opponents were the Republican incumbent William Howard Taft and former President Theodore Roosevelt, who organized the Progressive Party (or Bull Moose Party) after failing to secure the G.O.P. nomination. Taft secured only eight electoral votes, the worst performance by an incumbent in election history. Wilson won a second term in 1916.

Subscribers can browse the complete Times archives through 2002 at timesmachine.nytimes.com.

The Newspaper And Beyond

CORRECTIONS A17
CROSSWORD C3
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WEATHER A16
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VIDEO

Marchers in several cities took to the streets on Wednesday night to show their support for counting all votes, Black Lives Matter and other issues. nytimes.com/video

AUDIO

Offering a hopeful outlook in scary times, the author Jeff VanderMeer (“Annihilation”) talks with Kara Swisher about the beauty of a weird world in an episode of the opinion podcast “Sway.” nytimes.com/sway

LIST

See what the T Magazine team recommends this week, including fruit butters, the reopening of a classic Palm Springs hotel and a jewelry line that celebrates Asian-American heritage. tmagazine.com

NEWSLETTER

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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

The Tahoe Reno Industrial Center, in the Nevada desert, is said to be the largest industrial zone in the world. Its warehouses shelter the logistics operations of Walmart, Google, FedEx, and the Pioneer Nut Company.

An Oracle of the Rural World C1

The British economy is now expected to contract 2 percent in the fourth quarter compared with the previous quarter, the central bank said. And the economy won’t return to its pre-pandemic size until early 2022.

Britain’s Policymakers Find That the Virus Is a Moving Target B3

ESPN is paying more than \$7 billion for the rights to show live sports in 2020.

ESPN Will Cut 300 Workers, Most of Them In Broadcast Production B10



CHANEL MILLER

More than 2,000 physical escape-room facilities operate in the United States, or at least they did back in March before lockdown hit.

Escape Rooms Reinvent for the At-Home Player C1

On Wednesday, 2,258 inmates were released from prisons and halfway houses across New Jersey. It was one of the largest-ever single-day reductions of any state’s prison population.

Tears, Hugs and Change of Clothes For Former Inmates A13

A judge ruled that the news media can broadcast the trial for the four officers charged in the killing of George Floyd. It’s an unusual move in Minneapolis, where courts are generally closed to cameras.

Ex-Officers in Floyd Case Will Stand Trial Together A17

The collective bargaining agreement between Major League Baseball team owners and players is set to expire on Dec. 1, 2021.

As M.L.B. Looks to 2021, Uncertainty Has an Early Lead B10

The Conversation

FOUR OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

Presidential Election Results

As the counting continued on Thursday, huge amounts of people flocked to The Times’s election results page. It was the day’s most read article.

Election 2020 Live Updates

Also popular with readers was a live briefing with updates from reporters, including from on the ground in Pennsylvania, where Joe Biden was cutting into President Trump’s lead on Thursday afternoon.

Police ‘Kettle’ Protesters in Manhattan, Arresting Dozens

Wednesday night, a protest in Manhattan turned quickly into a confrontation between demonstrators and the police. The scene, and law enforcement tactics, were reminiscent of unruly days in June when protests filled the streets after George Floyd was killed in police custody in Minneapolis.



HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fox’s Arizona Call for Biden Flipped the Mood At Trump Headquarters

After Fox’s early call of Arizona for Joe Biden, a leap most other outlets — including The Times — didn’t make, “Mr. Trump and his advisers erupted at the news,” according to this report by Maggie Haberman and Annie Karni.

Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPORTEE FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

Despite the health risk for themselves and those around them, a segment of American men have refrained from wearing masks during the pandemic, which studies suggest may be because they perceive it as a sign of weakness. With coronavirus cases rising across the country, The Times’s Alisha Hari-dasani Gupta interviewed Anand Giridharadas, the author of “Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World,” to dig deeper into this version of masculinity for the In Her Words newsletter. Here is an edited excerpt.

What is it in American culture that has filled so many men with this kind of anxiety?

What is our society teaching men? It is teaching men that the only way to have dignity is not be a woman, not be weak, not be gay, always hit first and never present yourself as vulnerable or in need. This dominant way of teaching men leads to the epic amounts of abuse and assault that women face, and it actually doesn’t really work for most men. It traps most men in images of ourselves that have failed most of us and that don’t fit our lived inner experience.

Is that uniquely American?

I think the expectation of invulnerability in men is quite universal. But the idea of “freedom from” is an American obsession — freedom from the government and so on. The common sense exertion of public institutions to protect people makes many American men feel weakened, as though faceless bureaucrats are doing for their family what maybe they feel like they should be doing for their family instead.

Subscribe to the In Her Words newsletter at nytimes.com/inherwords.

Quote of the Day

MAN WHO LED G.O.P. THROUGH 2000 RECOUNT SAYS FINISH 2020 COUNT P5

“We never said don’t count the votes. That’s a very hard decision to defend in a democracy.”

JAMES BAKER, the former secretary of state who oversaw the Republican legal and political team in the 2000 Florida recount and voted for President Trump this year, on why he opposed the White House’s efforts to halt the initial tabulation of ballots.

Here to Help

A RECIPE FOR CINNAMON APPLE QUICK BREAD WITH APPLE CIDER GLAZE

Warm spices, applesauce and a shredded tart apple make this homespun loaf comforting, but the apple-cider glaze makes it stand out. You may want to double the amount of glaze, and drizzle it over ice cream, pancakes or your morning oatmeal. **SAMANTHA SENEVIRATNE**

TIME: 1 HOUR, 10 MINUTES
YIELD: 8 SERVINGS

FOR THE BREAD:

- Unsalted butter, for greasing the pan
- 2 cups/255 grams all-purpose flour, plus more for the pan
- 2 teaspoons baking powder
- 1½ teaspoons ground cinnamon
- ¾ teaspoon kosher salt
- ¼ teaspoon freshly grated nutmeg
- Pinch of ground cloves
- ½ cup/120 milliliters vegetable oil
- ½ cup/120 milliliters unsweetened applesauce
- ½ cup/100 grams granulated sugar
- ½ cup/110 grams packed dark brown sugar
- 3 large eggs
- 1 large Granny Smith apple, unpeeled and shredded (about 1 cup)

FOR THE GLAZE:

- 1 cup/240 milliliters apple cider
- 2 tablespoons unsalted butter
- ½ cup/60 grams confectioners’ sugar
- Pinch of kosher salt

- Heat oven to 350 degrees. Butter and flour an 8½-inch-by-4½-inch loaf pan. In a medium bowl, whisk together flour, baking powder, cinnamon, salt, nutmeg and cloves. In a large bowl, whisk together the oil, applesauce, sugars, eggs and apple.
- Fold the dry ingredients into the wet



ROMULO YANES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES, FOOD STYLIST: VIVIAN LUI

ingredients until just combined. Transfer to the pan and bake until a toothpick inserted into the center comes out clean, 50 to 60 minutes.

3. Transfer to a rack to cool slightly, then remove the bread from the pan and let it cool completely.

4. When the loaf has cooled, prepare the glaze. Bring the apple cider to a boil in a small saucepan over medium-high heat. Continue to cook the cider until it has reduced to ½ cup, about 10 minutes. Add the butter, confectioners’ sugar and salt. Reduce the heat to maintain a simmer and continue to cook the mixture, whisking often, until it has become syrupy and thickened slightly, about 4 minutes. Set aside to cool until it thickens slightly.

5. Drizzle the glaze over the loaf, and serve.

For more recipes, visit [NYT Cooking](https://nytimes.com/nytcooking) at [nytcooking.com](https://nytimes.com/nytcooking).

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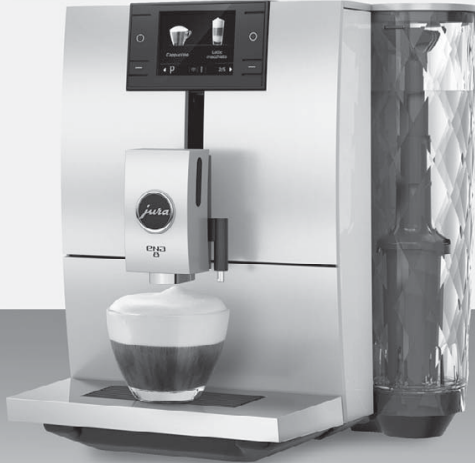


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Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times

Coronavirus Update

Enough Daily Cases to Fill Up a Stadium

Single-Day Records Set in Five States

Grim Forecast: It Will ‘Get Much Worse’

By JAMES BARRON

Earlier in the pandemic, one way to put in perspective the total number of coronavirus cases in the United States was to compare it with the population of medium-size cities. Now, during a week with four of the largest single-day case counts, the daily numbers have grown so large that they, too, need a real-world comparison. What comes to mind are places that have largely been off-limits this fall: football stadiums.

The nation added 81,902 new cases on Oct. 28, almost as many as the number of seats in MetLife Stadium in East Rutherford, N.J., the home of the Giants and the Jets. The next day, another 90,728 cases were reported, enough to fill all but about 400 seats at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, Calif. On Wednesday, the first six-digit day of the pandemic in the United States, 107,872 people were found to have the coronavirus — 271 more than the capacity of the nation's largest college football stadium, in Ann Arbor, Mich.

But those numbers are based only on the cases that have been reported. Public health experts like Dr. Leana Wen, an emergency physician and a public health professor at George Washington University who served as Baltimore's health commissioner, say that the United States “almost certainly” crossed the 100,000-case threshold long before Wednesday. “How many other cases are out there, especially considering the extraordinarily high test positivity rates across the country?” she asked during an interview on Thursday.

In June, when new coronavirus cases were averaging about 42,000 a day, Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the country's top infectious disease expert, told a Senate committee that the daily count would eventually reach 100,000 “if this does not turn around.” His blunt assessments of America's failure to control the virus drew attacks from Trump administration officials, including the president, who labeled him an alarmist and called him a “disaster.”

But some projections suggest a continuing rise in cases in the 77 days leading up to Inauguration Day, Jan. 20, no matter who is sworn in as president. The Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington says there may be nearly 284,000 more coronavirus cases by then, but only 173,734 with universal mask-wearing. The worst of its scenarios foresees more than 789,000 new cases if restrictions are eased.

Five states — Colorado, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota and Nebraska — set single-day case records on Wednesday. North and South Dakota and Wisconsin have led the country for weeks in the number of new cases relative to their populations. And states that had largely escaped the pandemic have come in its grip. For months, Maine had some of the lowest levels of transmission in the country, but new cases there have more than tripled over the past two weeks. In the same period, Wyoming's new cases have climbed by 73 percent, and Iowa's have more than doubled.

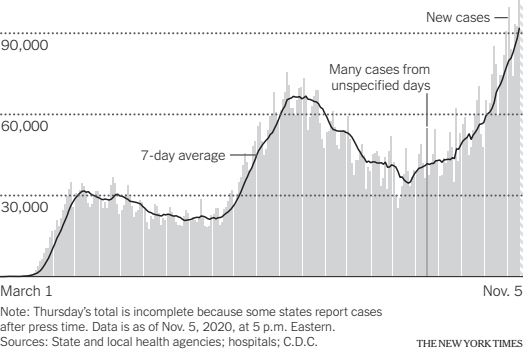
“It is absolutely, unfortunately, going to get much worse,” Dr. Wen said. “Every metric that we have is trending in the wrong direction, and we know with this virus that a surge is not going to stop on its own.” She added: “The strategy the Trump administration has had is to let the virus go and cross our fingers and hope a vaccine or therapeutic will save the day.” And Dr. Wen pointed to the escalating health crisis in Europe. In the absence of federal leadership, she said, that was “exactly where the U.S. is headed.”

Globally, even though much of Europe was in lockdown and Russia announced that some schools would remain closed until Nov. 22, the message from the World Health Organization was that the world could beat the coronavirus. The W.H.O. also said, in effect: Don't look now, but it's time to prepare for the next pandemic.

The agency said delegates to its World Health Assembly would consider a resolution intended to strengthen readiness for health emergencies like the coronavirus pandemic. It calls for a “multisectoral, all-hazards, health-in-all-policies and whole-of-society approach to preparedness.”

New Coronavirus Cases Announced Daily in U.S.

As of Thursday evening, more than **9,672,400** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the virus, according to a New York Times database.



Jobless Claims Hold Steady

First-time claims for unemployment benefits were about the same last week as the week before. The jobless number reported by the Labor Department — 738,000 — was well below the figures during the early weeks of the pandemic but still unusually high by historical standards. The seasonally adjusted total was 751,000, and another 363,000 new claims were filed under a program that covers part-time workers, freelancers and others who are not eligible for conventional jobless benefits.

Federal Reserve officials left interest rates unchanged. Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chairman, said the economic outlook was “extraordinarily uncertain” and called the rise in new coronavirus cases — both in the United States and elsewhere — “particularly concerning.” He said the two most immediate economic risks were the “further spread of the disease” and the likelihood that Americans would “run through the savings.”

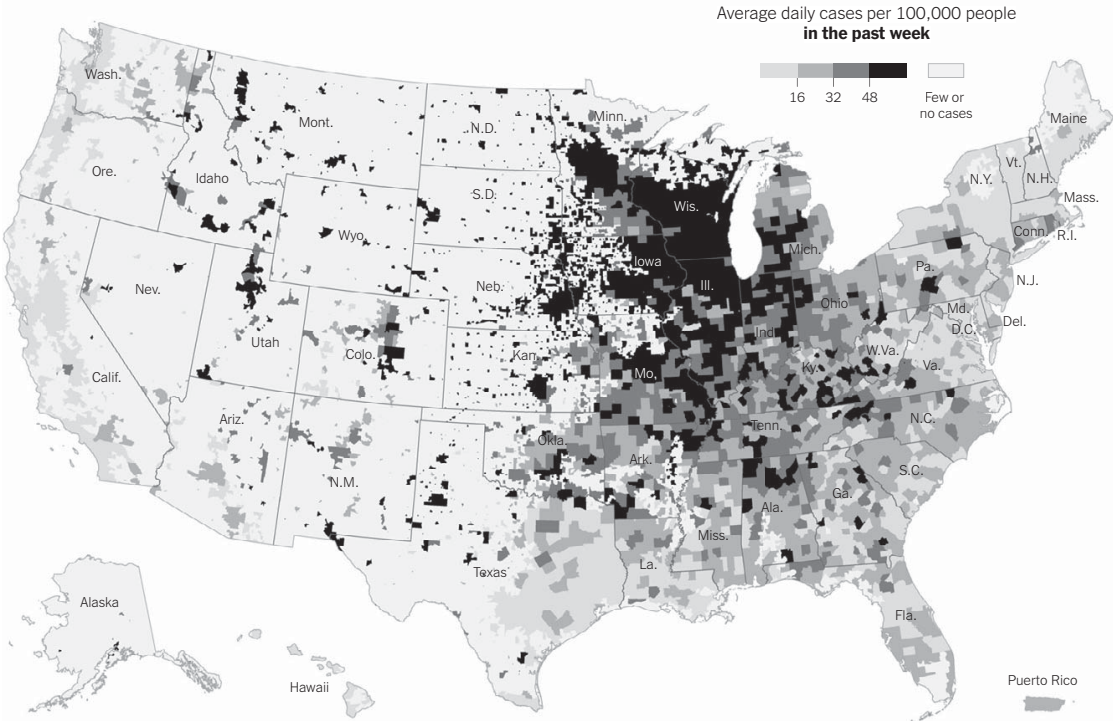
And for workers who kept their jobs during the crisis, a new study offered a disturbing statistic: People who tested positive for the virus were less likely to work from home than those who tested negative, according to the study, which was published by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Researchers questioned 314 people with jobs and coronavirus symptoms. About half had tested positive and about half negative. Those who tested positive “had higher odds” of going to the office or school regularly in the two weeks before their symptoms appeared, the researchers found. About 53 percent of the participants who tested positive went to work or class as usual, while only 35 percent of those who tested negative did.

Coronavirus Update wraps up the day's developments with information from across the virus report.

Hot Spots in the United States

As of Thursday evening, more than **9,672,400** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the coronavirus, according to a New York Times database. More than **235,000** people with the virus have died in the United States.



Sources: State and local health agencies. The map shows the share of population with a new reported case over the last week. Parts of a county with a population density lower than 10 people per square mile are not shaded. Data for Rhode Island is shown at the state level because county level data is infrequently reported. Data is as of Nov. 5, 2020, at 5 p.m., Eastern.

THE RESEARCH

Nasal Spray Halts Covid in Ferrets, Study Finds

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

A nasal spray that blocks the absorption of the SARS-CoV-2 virus has completely protected ferrets it was tested on, according to a small study released on Thursday by an international team of scientists. The study, which was limited to animals and has not yet been peer-reviewed, was assessed by several health experts at the request of The New York Times.

If the spray, which the scientists described as nontoxic and stable, is proved to work in humans, it could provide a new way of fighting the pandemic. A daily spritz up the nose would act like a vaccine.

“Having something new that works against the coronavirus is exciting,” said Dr. Arturo Casadevall, the chairman of immunology at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, who was not involved in the study. “I could imagine this being part of the arsenal.”

The work has been underway for months by scientists from Columbia University Medical Center in New York, Erasmus Medical Center in the Netherlands and Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y. The study was funded by the National Institutes of Health and the Columbia University Medical Center.

The team would require additional funding to pursue clinical trials in humans. Dr. Anne Moscona, a pediatrician and microbiologist at Columbia and co-author of the study, said they had applied for a patent on the product, and she hoped Columbia University would approach the federal government's Operation Warp Speed or large pharmaceutical companies that are seeking new ways to combat the coronavirus.

The spray attacks the virus directly. It contains a lipopeptide, a cholesterol particle linked to a chain of amino acids, the building blocks of proteins. This particular lipopeptide exactly matches a stretch of amino acids in the spike protein of the virus, which the pathogen uses to attach to a human airway or lung cell.

Before a virus can inject its RNA into a cell, the spike must effectively unzip, exposing two chains of amino acids, in order to fuse to the cell wall. As the spike zips back up to complete the process, the lipopeptide in the spray inserts itself, latching on to one of the spike's amino acid chains and preventing the virus from attaching.

“It is like you are zipping a zipper but you put another zipper inside, so the two sides cannot meet,” said Matteo Porotto, a microbiologist at Columbia University and one of the paper's authors.

The work was described in a paper posted to the preprint server bioRxiv Thursday morning, and has been submitted to the journal Science for peer review.

Dr. Peter J. Hotez, dean of the



PETER KOVALEV/TASS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ferrets are used for studying flu, SARS and other respiratory diseases because the animals can catch viruses through the nose much like humans do. A small study on Covid proved promising.

National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine, said the therapy looked “really promising.”

“What I'd like to know now is how easy it is to scale production,” he said.

In the study, the spray was given to six ferrets, which were then divided into pairs and placed in three cages. Into each cage also went two ferrets that had been given a placebo spray and one fer-

A treatment that blocks the virus in the nose and lungs and is inexpensive.

ret that had been deliberately infected with SARS-CoV-2 a day or two earlier.

Ferrets are used by scientists studying flu, SARS and other respiratory diseases because they can catch viruses through the nose much as humans do, although they also infect each other by contact with feces or by scratching and biting.

After 24 hours together, none of the sprayed ferrets caught the disease; all the placebo-group ferrets did.

“Virus replication was completely blocked,” the authors

wrote.

The protective spray attaches to cells in the nose and lungs and lasts about 24 hours, Dr. Moscona said. “If it works this well in humans, you could sleep in a bed with someone infected or be with your infected kids and still be safe,” she said.

The amino acids come from a stretch of the spike protein in coronaviruses that rarely mutates. The scientists tested it against four different variants of the virus, including both the well-known “Wuhan” and “Italian” strains, and also against the coronaviruses that cause SARS and MERS.

In cell cultures, it protected completely against all strains of the pandemic virus, fairly well against SARS and partially against MERS.

The lipoprotein can be inexpensively produced as a freeze-dried white powder that does not need refrigeration, Dr. Moscona said. A doctor or pharmacist could mix the powder with sugar and water to produce a nasal spray.

Other labs have designed antibodies and “mini-proteins” that also block the SARS-CoV-2 virus from entering cells, but these are chemically more complex and may need to be stored in cold temperatures.

Dr. Moscona and Dr. Porotto have been collaborating on similar “fusion inhibitor” peptides for 15 years, they said in a conference

call. They have developed some against measles, Nipah, parainfluenza and other viruses.

But those products aroused little commercial interest, Dr. Porotto said, because an effective measles vaccine already exists and because the deadly Nipah virus only turns up occasionally in faraway places like Bangladesh and Malaysia.

Monoclonal antibodies to the new coronavirus have been shown to prevent infection as well as treat it, but they are expensive to make, require refrigeration and must be injected. Australian scientists have tested a nasal spray against Covid-19 in ferrets, but it works by enhancing the immune system, not by targeting the virus directly.

Because lipopeptides can be shipped as a dry powder, they could be used even in rural areas in poor countries that lack refrigeration, Dr. Moscona said.

Dr. Moscona, a pediatrician who usually works on parainfluenza and other viruses that infect children, said she was most interested in getting the product to poor countries that may never have access to the monoclonal antibodies and mRNA vaccines that Americans may soon have. But she has little experience in that arena, she said.

“I've always been a basic scientist,” she said. “I've never done drug development or taken anything to the F.D.A. or anything like that.”

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FIGHTING THE NEXT WAVE

Lockdown With Loopholes: New Restrictions in Britain

By BENJAMIN MUELLER

LONDON — Chocolate shops and stationary stores were busy as usual. Universities held in-person lectures. And workers crowded into some offices and factories, often with nothing more than a bottle of communal hand sanitizer to protect them from the rampant spread of the coronavirus.

In England on Thursday, the first hours of Lockdown 2.0, as local newspapers called it, looked very little like a lockdown at all.

The situation exposed the enormous difficulties of European governments, struck by a second wave of the coronavirus, as they try to put the genie back in the bottle after months of encouraging people to flock back to offices and pubs.

Since the spring, when lawmakers with little dissent ordered people to stay home, the political consensus around lockdown measures has collapsed. As a result, England's new shutdown rules were shot through with loopholes, and companies openly flouted what relatively lenient restrictions were in place. At the same time, citizens and scientists alike fretted about the virus spreading unchecked for much of the winter.

"It feels very much like a lockdown in name only," said Steve Gremo, a software developer in Kent, in southeast England. "In March, it seemed like the country came to a complete halt. It was not the same vibe this morning at all."

The latest shutdown — under which pubs, restaurants and other nonessential shops were supposed to close, but schools, universities and many workplaces were left open — is slated to end on Dec. 2. But many scientists doubt that four weeks of spotty restrictions will be enough to stamp out the virus, or that the government will have done enough by then to revamp its contact tracing system to allow officials to keep track of the virus's spread for the rest of the winter.

Prime Minister Boris Johnson's government appeared to suggest on Thursday that some restrictions on working and socializing would remain in place for much longer than it had previously acknowledged.

In announcing the new lockdown measures this weekend, Mr. Johnson said the government would extend its worker support program — under which it pays 80 percent of furloughed workers' wages — only until the restrictions lapsed on Dec. 2.

The government changed its tune on Thursday, with Rishi Sunak, the chancellor, announcing that the program would continue until the end of March because the economic damage of the pandemic would last beyond the second lockdown.

The opposition Labour Party at-



MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top, people getting their hour of exercise, passing the Museum of Liverpool in northwest England on Thursday, the first day of the new lockdown in Britain; a closed cafe in Hackney, east London; waiting for a bus by the Barbican in central London.

tacked the government's hesitation in offering the support, saying it had caused deep certainty for businesses and unnecessary layoffs.

For Mr. Johnson, imposing a second lockdown at all was a dramatic turnaround. Only 10 days before he announced the plan on Saturday night, he had described a national lockdown as "the height of absurdity."

He has continued to face political pressure from libertarian and pro-business lawmakers in his Conservative Party, more than 30 of whom voted against the new restrictions in Parliament on Wednesday. The measures passed with help from Labour lawmakers.

ers.

Despite skepticism from scientists, Mr. Johnson insisted on Thursday that the new restrictions would work.

"This is not a repeat of the spring," he said. "Four weeks is enough for these measures to make a real impact."

But the busy subways, motorways, shops and workplaces that were in evidence across England on Thursday made plain that companies were reluctant to take the same precautions they did during the first lockdown. A large stationary chain, saying its services were essential, stayed open, raising some eyebrows.

At a chocolate shop north of

London, Ashli Long, a supervisor, said schoolchildren and other customers had crowded into the store as usual. A local council official visited on Thursday and said the shop was considered non-essential and therefore needed to close.

But the shop's owners were planning to resist, Ms. Long said, and open again on Friday. She said she worried about picking up the virus at the shop and bringing it home to her mother, who is being treated for breast cancer.

"We just feel like we don't have any option right now," she said. "If the government had set out rules that people could follow from the beginning, then we wouldn't be in

the situation we're in now."

Given the crowded streets on Thursday, she added, "I don't see the virus going away anytime soon."

The localized restrictions that Mr. Johnson's government had previously imposed have shown signs of flattening the uptick in infections, scientists said, with reported daily new cases leveling off at around 23,000 in recent days. Still, deaths continued to rise, with nearly 500 recorded across Britain on Wednesday, the highest level since mid-May.

When the coronavirus first surged in the spring, scientists said, the government's objectives in asking people to stay home

SNAPSHOT OF AMERICA

'It's Coming After All of Us': Covid's Surge Sets a Record

From Page A1

part to stop the spread of the coronavirus.

In Iowa, where cases have increased 118 percent over the past two weeks, Gov. Kim Reynolds urged residents to take action at what she described as a critical period in the state's fight.

"For the next three weeks at least, I am asking Iowans to make every effort to help us stop the spread of Covid-19," said Ms. Reynolds, who echoed warnings from hospital leaders that capacity could be stretched if cases continue to surge.

Dr. David Williams, the chief clinical officer of UnityPoint Health, put it more bluntly.

"Fellow Iowans, my job is to tell you it's time we have to start listening," Dr. Williams said.

That message was echoed hours later by Gov. Mike DeWine of Ohio, after announcing that a record 4,961 people in his state received coronavirus diagnoses in a single 24-hour period and that 541 people were seriously ill in intensive care, the most of the pandemic.

"This virus doesn't care if we voted for Donald Trump, doesn't care if we voted for Joe Biden," Mr. DeWine said. "It's coming after all of us."

In his own state, some of the most invisible work in diagnosing

and fighting the virus continued in a quiet laboratory around lunchtime.

At the Cleveland Clinic, a giant fridge glowed with rows and rows of coronavirus samples. Technicians in surgical masks and blue plastic gloves shook test tubes and squinted at graphs on computer screens, trying to determine whether yet another patient had tested positive for the virus.

This is the reality across America, where laboratories — once overlooked in the back rooms of hospitals — have become front and center in the country's pandemic response as they race to keep up with testing demand.

Nearly every hour, samples from a nearby coronavirus testing site were shuttled over in a cooler and dropped off at the Cleveland Clinic lab. A machine processing samples whirled around the clock. It never seemed to get tired, unlike the people who work in the lab, who have been logging intense hours for months.

"I work, I go home, I come back," one lab supervisor said. Another worker described an ever-mounting sense of pressure and responsibility. "This is not fun and games," she said. "There are people's lives at stake."

Children are feeling the effects of the rising caseload, too, with increasing infections forcing schools to close, or to postpone reopening if they had not yet opened.

In southwestern Virginia on Thursday, hundreds of students in the Henry County Public Schools district were at work in their classes. They had returned in mid-October after weeks online. But 22 staff members and students had tested positive for the



TAYLOR GLASCOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Administering coronavirus tests at a drive-through testing site in Milwaukee on Thursday.

virus since in-person classes resumed, and hundreds more had been quarantined.

So, on Thursday, with holidays approaching and the prospect of more cases tied to family gatherings, the superintendent, Sandy Strayer, went before the school board to recommend that the district revert to virtual learning until January.

The board unanimously adopted her recommendation. Come Monday, the district's schools will close again.

In Minot, N.D., patients on Thursday crammed an emergency room at Trinity Health, waiting to be admitted. The entire

floor dedicated to coronavirus patients, which could hold 35 people, had no more available beds. Half of the patients in the intensive care unit were sick with the virus.

Dr. Jeffrey Sather, the chief of staff, called other large hospitals around the state to see if he could send some patients there — a routine request in normal times. But every hospital was also full. He would have to handle the influx alone.

He said he was thinking about how to dedicate another of the hospital's six floors to coronavirus patients.

The coronavirus test positivity rate in Ward County, home to Mi-

not, a city of roughly 47,000, had reached 25 percent by Thursday, said Lisa Clute, public health director for First District Health Unit. The virus has spread through the community and recently reached two long-term care facilities, where dozens of staff and residents are now infected.

On Thursday, many on Dr. Sather's staff were working overtime to handle the huge demand. He said he was worried about an overworked staff, as well as about all they were seeing every day.

"They are witnessing people suffocate to death on a regular basis," Dr. Sather said. "And it's a heavy psychological toll."

were clear: Officials needed time to build up testing and contact tracing programs, learn how to treat the virus and buy enough protective equipment to keep doctors and nurses safe.

But Mr. Johnson's goals for a second lockdown were narrower, with officials pointing to mass overcrowding in hospitals as inevitable if they did not impose new restrictions.

"I've no doubt the lockdown will push cases further downward, but the issue is what is going to happen afterward," said Paul Hunter, a professor of medicine at the University of East Anglia. Referring to the low infection rates over the summer, he said, "It's not going to go back to what it was like in August."

Prof. Hunter said a return to more localized restrictions was likely, though he said lags in imposing them so far this autumn had limited their use. Scientists have urged the government to fix problems with its contact tracing system, known as Test and Trace, which is now overwhelmed with cases.

"Four weeks isn't enough to fix Test and Trace," Prof. Hunter said. "That's just not going to happen."

Whereas Britons voluntarily stopped socializing before the first lockdown in March, they appeared to pick up the pace before the second, with online restaurant reservations rising this week compared with the same period last year.

Roadways and airports were busy on Wednesday night as some people hurried to second homes or to go on holiday before the restrictions took effect. Some pubs offered deeply discounted beers to drain their stock before lockdown.

Many people worried about repeated cycles of lockdowns and reopenings throughout the winter. Only a few months ago, the government had subsidized restaurant meals and begun a campaign encouraging people to return to their offices.

"The government is constantly saying to us, 'Yes, go back to work, contribute to society, we need to get the economy going,' and then, 'Oh no, wait, too much, quick lockdown everything again,'" said Mr. Gremo, the software developer. "They're trying to walk a fine line but instead they're swinging between either extreme."

Andy Lewis, who also lives in Kent, said the streets were far busier than they would have been for school drop-offs, essential work and shopping alone.

"It feels like either guidance hasn't been very clear, or people are just ignoring it," he said. Referring to a popular coffee shop chain, he added, "This morning I got an email from Costa telling me they are still open for takeaway, yet the government are telling us not to leave the house unless it's essential?"

Long lines for tests, closed schools and a scramble to find hospital beds.

Amanda Harper had always imagined her grandmother's funeral as a full celebration of a life that took her from Canada to Connecticut. The viewing and service for Juliette Marie Foley, 98, would have been at a church, followed by family time where loved ones would have pored over old photos and swapped stories.

But that was before the pandemic shattered rituals and traditions of life and death.

In October, Ms. Foley, the remaining survivor of 17 children, contracted the coronavirus. An avid baker and seamstress, she died on the last day of the month.

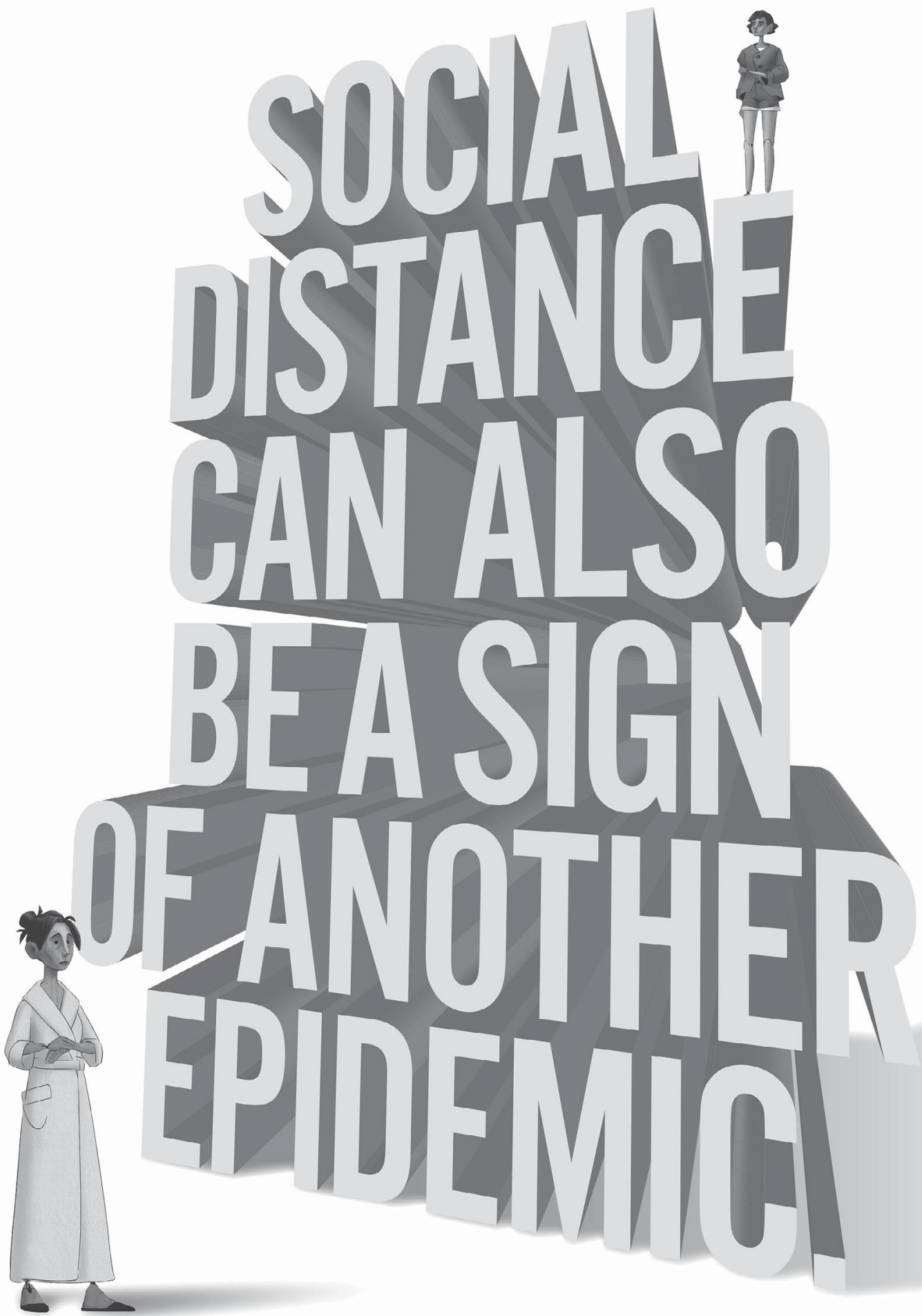
On Thursday afternoon, a day before Ms. Foley's small graveside service in Connecticut, there were still many details for Ms. Harper and the rest of the family to consider.

Would the Zoom link work for the friends and relatives who could not attend, including Ms. Foley's beloved grandson in Australia? For the few attending in person, how could Ms. Harper ensure it was both intimate and safe, especially with an uptick of virus cases in Connecticut? Should she bring a large photo of her grandmother, or would that encourage people to assemble too close?

"This pandemic has robbed us of the way we say goodbye," said Ms. Harper, 37, a university marketing director in Boston. "My grandmother had this beautiful full life and it ended matter-of-factly in this catastrophic pandemic."

By nightfall, the nation hurtled past the 100,000-case mark once again.

Julie Bosman reported from Racine, Sarah Mervosh from Cleveland, and Audra D. S. Burch from Hollywood, Fla. Mitch Smith contributed reporting from Chicago, Lucy Tompkins from Bismarck, N.D., and Kate Taylor from Boston. Steven Moity contributed research.



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SURPRISE CHARGES

What Is the ‘Covid Fee’ That Just Showed Up On Your Medical Bill?

By JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG and SARAH KLIFF

When Michael Hambley got the call from his 87-year-old mother in July, he was sure there was a mistake. She told him that her assisted living facility, the one she paid for with her pension, was charging a one-time, \$900 fee for masks, cleaning supplies and meal delivery.

Jennifer Koeckhoven had a similar experience in June: a \$60 personal protective equipment charge — tacked onto her mother’s ambulance bill — that went uncovered by insurance.

“She was already wearing a mask,” said Ms. Koeckhoven, who noted that the one-mile ambulance ride already cost \$1,759 before the fee.

In New York City, Zariely Garcia was surprised to see a \$45 fee tacked onto a dental cleaning in July. It was billed to her directly, not her health plan, a practice that state regulators outlawed the next month as a violation of consumer protection laws.

The coronavirus pandemic has made the practice of health care more costly as providers must wear protective gear and sanitize equipment more often, even as they face declining revenue. Two groups of providers have been particularly hard hit. Dentists have lost billions since patients began postponing nonurgent dental care this spring. And assisted living facilities, grappling with lower overall demand, have also been forced to admit fewer residents to help stop the spread of infection

To address this financial shortfall, some health providers are turning directly to patients. Surprise “Covid” and “PPE” fees have turned up across the country, in bills examined by The New York Times.

“It’s a complicated answer, who pays for this,” says Scott Manaker,

a physician who is in charge of the American Medical Association’s practice expense committee. “You look around the community and see additional costs being imposed right and left because of Covid-19. Barber shops, pedicures and restaurants all have additional charges. It would be an undue burden to ask the medical community to bear this alone.”

Some of these fees — when millions of Americans are reeling after losing jobs and the health insurance that came with it — have drawn the attention of state attorneys general who say that charging patients directly can take advantage of vulnerable consumers or violate health insurance contracts and consumer protection laws. The new charges range from a couple of dollars to nearly \$1,000.

“The cynical view is that some see this as an opportunity: Everyone understands something unusual is going on, and most customers are ready to embrace the idea they will need to bear some expense,” said Darrin Fowler, an assistant attorney general in Michigan who has been investigating coronavirus fees in assisted living facilities. “Unfortunately, in every setting there are a percentage of folks who will take advantage of that situation.”

The charges appear to be especially prevalent in dental offices, where industry guidelines suggest that fees denied by insurers are “typically billable to patients.” In the spring, millions of dental patients canceled planned cleanings, and offices were shuttered with new stay-at-home orders. When dental workers came back to their offices, they used heavy protective equipment, including N-95 masks and face shields.

The American Dental Association has urged dental health plans to begin reimbursing a new fee to cover the expense. Some health



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITTAINY NEWMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A dentist’s office in Manhattan. Dentists have lost billions in business since patients began postponing appointments this spring.

plans have done so, but others haven’t, which can leave patients paying new bills.

Times readers shared new protective equipment fees from dentist offices that ranged from \$12 to \$45. Insurance companies typically reimburse less, usually between \$7 and \$10.

Sabine Reichert decided to forgo a dental cleaning after learning she would be charged a \$16 protective equipment fee. She would need to submit the claim to her insurance and, because of her deductible, would probably be responsible for the full charge.

“I thought it was ludicrous,” she said. “We have a high deductible, and this year we are saying no to the things we don’t really need.”

Carrie McGurk, a retired lawyer in Boca Raton, Fla., was surprised to see a \$15 charge tacked onto her cleaning bill in July. She said she was not informed of the fee in advance, and noticed it only after requesting an itemized bill.

“When I was putting it away in my file, I saw ‘Covid charge’ and thought, Jeez, you could have at least told me,” she said. Because she does not carry dental insurance, she had to pay the full charge.

The American Dental Association “strongly encourages” dentists to disclose any fees to patients, saying the decision to charge the fee is an “individual dental practice business decision.”

Regulators in Connecticut, Maryland and New York have received numerous consumer complaints about new fees at dentist offices. All three states have warned that state and federal laws do not allow in-network health providers to tack on new fees.

“We’re seeing complaints of all types,” said William Tong, Connecticut’s attorney general. “All the arguments in favor of billing patients are not at all compelling to me.”

Much like nursing homes, assisted living facilities have been pummeled by the pandemic. To protect residents and contain the virus’s spread, they have bulked up their sanitation, increased staff pay and their testing, and invested in masks and other protective equipment.

Occupancy levels are at a record low, according to Mark Parkinson, the chief executive of the American Health Care Association and National Center for Assisted Living, the largest industry trade group, representing about 4,000 centers. “Revenue is at record lows, and expenses are at record highs,” Mr. Parkinson said, adding that the industry, unlike other health care sectors, received

federal assistance only in September.

Most residents at assisted living facilities pay out of pocket, since federal programs like Medicare typically don’t cover the stays. Unburdened by federal oversight or existing insurance contracts, assisted living facilities have wide latitude to charge residents a variety of fees. Some have raised rents, while others have charged residents to cover rising cleaning costs and masks.

“There is a real desire to not have to pass on any of these costs,” Mr. Parkinson said.

Still, in more than a dozen states, ombudsmen, who advocate on behalf of residents in long-

Mr. Hambley said. “They have no visits, no engagement. And on top of that they are scared.”

After Mr. Hambley complained to state regulators, the facility rescinded the fee. He asked that the place not be named because his mother still resides there, and he did not want to affect the quality of her care.

The charges may soon be coming to more doctor’s offices. Last month, the American Medical Association lobbied Medicare to begin paying for a new billing code that covers increased protective costs.

The association proposed in September that Medicare reimburse \$6.57 for costs associated with protective equipment and new procedures for each visit, a fee significantly less than what some patients have already faced.

When Medicare chooses to reimburse a new medical service, private insurers have traditionally followed the public insurer’s lead — often paying two or three times more. The charge could also turn up on bills sent to uninsured Americans, whose ranks have swelled during the pandemic.

A Medicare spokeswoman declined to comment on whether the new fee would be approved, but said the agency had already “provided additional funding to support providers responding to the Covid-19 pandemic.” That includes billions distributed to providers through the Provider Relief Fund, and a 20 percent increase in Medicare reimbursements for hospitalized Covid-19 patients.

For now, those patients hit with coronavirus fees say the costs, though often relatively small, add up, especially at a time of such economic uncertainty.

“It didn’t break me, but they should have told me before it happened,” Ms. McGurk said. “I didn’t need to have my teeth cleaned just then. I could have waited until it was necessary.”

Finding a \$60 personal protective equipment charge on an ambulance bill.

term care facilities, said in interviews they worried such fees were only a fraction of what’s being tacked into bills and slipped into monthly rent statements. With nursing homes and assisted living facilities restricting visitors, there is less scrutiny of their practices. And some residents may assume that the cost is theirs to bear.

Mr. Hambley, whose mother faced the \$900 charge at her assisted living facility in Portage, Mich., had a particular reason to be skeptical: He works in the industry, running a continuous care facility in another state.

Some of the extra charges, including an \$11 daily lunch fee, stood out, especially because his mother had been complaining about the quality of lunches since the start of the pandemic. “It seemed like this was an opportunity to take advantage of a population that is already vulnerable,”

‘We’re seeing complaints of all types.’

WILLIAM TONG, Connecticut’s attorney general, on unexpected pandemic charges on medical bills.



The front desk at Advanced Dental Arts in Manhattan in June. Many providers of health care services have sought to pass on the costs for extra protective equipment for their staff to their patients.

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The New York Times



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Dr. Gustavo Gutiérrez with a Covid-19 patient in her home in Matamoros, Mexico. He has seen well over 200 patients in their homes since June, he said.

A Mexican Doctor’s Unusual, Brave Specialty

House calls to Covid-19 patients, many of them near death.

By AZAM AHMED

REYNOSA, Mexico — Gustavo Gutiérrez pulled up to the residential corner and scanned the street. Before long, a man ran toward him, desperation etched on his face.

“Inside, doctor, she’s inside,” the man said, pointing to his home. His wife was dying of Covid.

In the darkened living room, the woman, Dolores Bustamante Robles, slumped on a sofa, slowly sipping oxygen from a rusted tank. The doctor stooped to check her vitals. The family braced for bad news.

“What’s your favorite food,” Dr. Gutiérrez finally asked.

Confused, she whispered, “Tamales?” “Good,” he said, tucking the stethoscope in his bag. “When you’re all better, I’m coming over and you’re going to cook me some.”

If laughter heals, Dr. Gutiérrez, an affable physician and one-man roving medical clinic, has developed a rare practice in the turbulent times of Covid-19. He relies on humor, positivity and intimacy, qualities most patients have been robbed of by the pandemic.

He is also addressing one of the most vexing issues facing Mexican officials battling the virus: a refusal by patients to seek treatment from hospitals. A deep-seated fear of hospitals has meant thousands die at home without receiving proper care.

Indeed, having seen the crowded, ghastly conditions and rampant infections in Reynosa’s medical centers, where he himself caught the virus, Dr. Gutiérrez could hardly blame them.

And so he devised an elegant solution: He would, against all advice, deliver treatment directly to those in need. By his count, he’s seen well over 200 patients in their homes since June, traveling between Reynosa, the state’s largest city with 600,000 people, and Matamoros, another large border town.

“People are suffering in ways you can’t imagine, and if we bring that fear with us, it only makes them more afraid,” Dr. Gutiérrez, 39, said. “The worst part about this damn virus is that we’ve lost our humanity.”

On this day, Dr. Gutiérrez would visit six more houses before heading to his overnight shift as an emergency room doctor at a regional hospital, a routine of 20-hour days he has maintained since he started the home visits.

He began early in the summer, when a neighbor in the construction business said his workers began falling ill, and asked him to check on them. The hospitals were full, he said.

Dr. Gutiérrez, who was home recovering from his own infection, agreed to see them in his garden. Over the course of a week or so, he saw dozens of people, until a different neighbor complained that he was going to infect everyone.

But by then, the word had spread. He was receiving calls from numbers he didn’t recognize and decided that, armed with antibodies after recovering from his own infection, he would start seeing patients in their homes.

Nowadays, his phone rings no fewer than 50 times a day. On busy days, he sees up to 25 people, charging about \$90 for those who can afford it, nothing to those who can’t.

“It makes it a little hard to enjoy my own life,” he admits. “But if it was my family looking for help, I’d want the doctor to answer.”



Dr. Gutiérrez, from top, chatting with his wife, Jocelyn Guerrero, who said that these days she and their two young daughters “barely see him”; reviewing X-rays of the lungs of a Covid-19 patient, whose condition has been improved by oxygen treatment; and outside a patient’s home in Matamoros.

His wife, Jocelyn Guerrero, jokes that either she or their two little girls will need to get sick to get his attention.

“He’s always been like this,” she smiled, running her hand over his short-cropped hair at breakfast one morning. “Only now, instead of being around two hours a day, we barely see him.”

In the half-hour that Dr. Gutiérrez spent with Mrs. Bustamante and her family, he missed eight phone calls. And the phone rang again as he settled into his S.U.V.: It was a man calling on behalf of his mother-in-law, an hour away in Matamoros. “She’s really bad,” he said.

The doctor offered some basic advice — she should lie on her stomach and drink water — and promised to visit later in the week.

The calls continued. A young man on the verge of tears, afraid his mother would die. And then the phone rang again, for the third time in four minutes.

“I can’t even answer all the calls,” he sighed, ignoring the next incoming one. “It’s really just chance and luck.”

The next stop was the home of a 25-year-old maintenance worker, Fabián de León Sánchez, who had worked with Dr. Gutiérrez at the hospital.

He had contracted the virus on the job, most likely while transporting a ventilator, and yet refused to be admitted despite blood oxygenation levels of 73 percent, a dangerously low level.

“It was horrible at the hospital,” Mr. de León said, sitting up in bed. “I preferred to recover at home.”

He was better now, not 100 percent, but good enough to laugh and joke with the doctor.

Dr. Gutiérrez, who has become a minor social media celebrity, asked the young man to join him for a photo to post on Facebook. Mr. de León, eager to show his victory over the virus, asked his wife to bring him his boxing gloves for the picture.

Outside, the sun cast an infernal heat on the city, with the temperature brushing up to 100 degrees. Dr. Gutiérrez’s phone began buzzing again. Another WhatsApp video call.

On the screen, an older man lay on a bed covered in a green sheet. His face looked nearly frozen. The man’s son turned the camera around and asked the doctor for help.

Dr. Gutiérrez began with his standard questions about symptoms and pre-existing conditions.

“Does he have a fan or air-conditioner? And is he drinking water?” the doctor asked.

No, said his son. “He’s in that small house, burning up,” the doctor explained. “A lot of people are simply dehydrated.”

Another call. The family of Mrs. Bustamante, with questions about the prescriptions he sent.

The daughter of a 74-year-old woman, who had become ill 10 days earlier, called next. He promised to visit.

“Don’t be shy,” he said with a laugh. “Call me and remind me if I don’t confirm.”

Dr. Gutiérrez pulled into a private hospital down the street from his home, where he fielded another three calls.

He had taken to using the facility for patients he did not think would survive at home. Inside, he said a quiet hello to the family of one of his patients, huddled in the waiting area, too numb to weep.

Their father had died that morning, the second member of the family lost to Covid-19. A week earlier, the man’s 29-year-old daughter had died of complications from the virus.

His daughters and wife were waiting for the final paperwork.

Dr. Gutiérrez called the family’s youngest daughter, 27, into a private room. She carried a large file with her. He pulled out a stack of forms and asked for her father’s work credentials.

When he asked for a social security ID, she grew flustered, rifling through the accordion tabs.

“Honestly, we didn’t prepare for this,” she said, her face flushed. She continued to pick through the file, then stopped and looked at the doctor.

“With my sister, we knew what was happening more or less,” she added, composed now. “We never expected this.”

Outside, the doctor started up his S.U.V. and cranked the air conditioning. He checked his phone. Six more missed calls.

He didn’t want to talk much about the dead patient, a man named Mario, who left behind a wife and two surviving daughters.

Not that it affected him, he said. He was long past that. He wouldn’t get caught up in the grief, because doing so would make his job impossible.

And right then, with his phone ringing on his dashboard, he had more patients to see.

Man Arrested In Massacre Of a Family Of Mormons

By KIRK SEMPLE

MEXICO CITY — A year after the massacre of nine members of a Mormon family in northern Mexico, a suspect was arrested on homicide charges in connection with the case, Mexican officials said.

The man, whom the authorities identified only as “Alfredo ‘L’” and a member of a criminal group operating in northern Mexico, was detained in the border city of Ciudad Juárez on Wednesday, exactly a year after gunmen ambushed the family as they drove in a convoy along an isolated desert road in the state of Sonora.

The nine victims included six children and three women, all dual Mexican and American citizens who lived in the region where they were attacked.

No one has been convicted in the killings, which stunned Mexico and the United States. The case has remained a stain on the administration of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who has struggled to find an effective approach to reducing violence in the country.

Mexican authorities, in a brief announcement publicizing the arrest, offered scant information about the suspect, whom they said was a “likely participant in the events that occurred on November 4, 2019.”

According to Mexico’s attorney general’s office, 12 suspects have been arrested in connection with the case though only two of them, including the man arrested this week, have been accused of murder. The other 10 are facing other charges, including illegal possession of weapons and organized crime, officials said.

Far from celebrating the latest arrest, members of the extended family expressed deep disappointment, frustration and anger about the fact that a year after the murder of their relatives, nobody had been convicted of the crimes.

“It’s absolutely infuriating,” Julian LeBarón, the first cousin of two of the women killed in the attack, said in an interview on Thursday. “It’s the easiest thing in the world for the government to say, ‘We know who did it and we’re going to catch them all,’ but it’s almost impossible to send someone to prison for murder.”

He said the inability of the authorities to solve the crime clearly underscored the weaknesses of the Mexican law enforcement and justice systems and the degree to which they were undermined

Six children and three women ambushed on a remote highway.

by malfeasance. Very few homicides in Mexico end in a conviction.

“It’s so obvious to anyone with common sense that you don’t get to almost 100 percent impunity without a rotteness and corruption that’s eroded the institutions to their core,” said Mr. LeBarón, 42, who has conducted a high-profile campaign to pressure the Mexican authorities and the president’s administration to solve the case.

The family members were ambushed while driving in three sport utility vehicles in a rural area of Sonora where Mormon groups that splintered from the main United States church began settling in the early 20th century.

In the days after the attack, the authorities suggested that it could have been a case of mistaken identity, and said they were exploring the possibility that it was related to a conflict between two criminal groups fighting for control of that region and its lucrative trafficking routes for drugs, weapons and other contraband.

Because the victims had American citizenship and frequently moved between the two countries, Mexican officials agreed to give their counterparts in the United States full access to their investigative files.

When Mr. López Obrador took office in 2018, he vowed to end his predecessors’ war on drugs, an approach that had relied on the military. Instead, he promised, he would address the roots of crime by tackling poverty through social development programs and investment — a strategy he referred to as “hugs, not bullets.”

And yet, the effort has not significantly lowered the national murder tally.

Asked whether he thought there was anything to celebrate in the latest arrest in connection with his family’s case, Mr. LeBarón said, “We’ve understood who the top dogs are, and this is not one of them.”

He said the attention drawn by the case left him feeling an obligation to push the government to do more to reduce the nation’s violence.

“It’s been 366 days since my cousins were murdered — and their children — and if they cannot solve this case, just imagine what’s it’s like for the families that cannot sit down with the president, that cannot ask America for help,” he said. “The fact that we can makes it seem that we have 10 times more responsibility to speak out.”

Study Urges Reduction Of Greenhouse Gases In Production of Food

By HENRY FOUNTAIN

Rising greenhouse gas emissions from worldwide food production will make it extremely difficult to limit global warming to the targets set in the Paris climate agreement, even if emissions from fossil-fuel burning were halted immediately, scientists reported Thursday.

But they said that meeting one of the targets, limiting overall warming this century to 1.5 degrees Celsius, or about 2.7 degrees Fahrenheit, could be achieved through “rapid and ambitious” changes to the global food system

An effort to reduce overall warming will require big changes.

over the next several decades, including adopting plant-rich diets, increasing crop yields and reducing food waste.

“If we’re trying to meet the 1.5-degree Celsius target there is no single silver bullet that is going to get us there,” said Michael Clark, a researcher at the Nuffield Department of Population Health at the University of Oxford in England and the lead author of the new research, an analysis of the climate effects of global food production published in the journal Science. “But together all of them will.”

Meeting the 2-degree Celsius target would be easier, Dr. Clark said. But in both cases, he added,

the analysis is based on immediately reaching “net zero” emissions from the burning of fossil fuels for electricity, transportation and industry. Although countries have pledged to reduce them, current fossil-fuel emissions are nowhere near zero, and once they are factored in, he said, “any food transition probably needs to be larger and faster.”

Food production results in emissions of carbon dioxide, methane and other planet-warming gases in many ways, including land clearing and deforestation for agriculture and grazing, digestion by cattle and other livestock, production and use of fertilizers and the cultivation of rice in flooded paddies. Overall emissions are equivalent to about 16 billion metric tons of carbon dioxide a year, or about 30 percent of total global emissions.

While the world tends to focus on reducing emissions from fossil-fuel burning, the new study shows cutting emissions from food is crucial, too, the researchers said.

“Food systems are sort of the dark horse of climate change,” said Jason Hill, senior author of the paper and a professor at the University of Minnesota.

The researchers forecast how emissions would change in coming decades as the world population grows, diets and consumption patterns change as some countries become more affluent, and crop yields increase. They found that food-related emissions alone would quite likely result in the world exceeding the 1.5 degree Celsius limit in 30 to 40 years. Food emissions alone would bring the world close to the 2-degree



Cattle in Hereford, Texas, on their way to slaughter. Emissions from food amount to roughly 30 percent of the world’s carbon output.

limit by 2100.

Brent Loken, the global lead food scientist for the World Wildlife Fund, who was not involved in the research, said the study was “one more piece of evidence that supports what many people are saying,” that climate goals cannot be reached without changes in the food system.

“It’s really less about where food system is today, and more about where it’s heading,” he said. Analyses in recent years have pointed to the need to alter diets and make other changes in the

food system both to improve human health and make the system more sustainable. Dr. Loken, for example, was a co-author of a report by the EAT-Lancet Commission, an international group of scientists, that recommended a 50 percent reduction in global consumption of red meat and some other foods by 2050.

Dr. Loken said that without changes, food emissions were expected to double by 2050. “And the wiggle room to meet the Paris limits is so small,” he said.

Dr. Hill said that the study did

not consider potential shifts like the entire world population adopting a vegan diet. “We wanted to present the ones that were realistic goals,” he said. “A plant-rich diet is a realistic goal. We’re not saying in this paper to hit these targets we have to give up animal products. But there need to be some dietary shifts toward the healthier diets.”

Dr. Clark said that he was optimistic that dietary shifts and other changes in the food system could be made in time to have an effect on global warming. He and

others are currently working on determining what policies and behavioral changes it may be possible to implement.

“Maybe it’s a combination of nudges at grocery stores, and top-down policies from governments,” he said. “It could be very bureaucratic or individualistic.”

“There are so many different ways we can do this,” Dr. Clark added. “Every person has a role to play, every corporation as well. Through collective action and political will we can actually do this pretty rapidly.”

President in Kosovo Resigns to Fight War Crimes Case in International Court

By ISABELLA KWAI

The president of Kosovo, a guerrilla leader during Kosovo’s fight for independence against Serbia, resigned on Thursday to face charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity at a special international court in the Netherlands.

The president, Hashim Thaci, 52, said at a news conference in Pristina, Kosovo’s capital, that he was stepping down to protect the office of the presidency.

“From today, it is a new chapter for Kosovo,” said Vigan Qorrolli, a law professor at the University of Pristina. Many see the president’s resignation as an opportunity for “new stability here to bring prosperity,” he added.

The former commander of the Kosovo Liberation Army, Mr. Thaci was indicted in June by the special court in The Hague on 10 counts of war crimes. Prosecutors accused him and other former independence fighters of being

Marlise Simons contributed reporting.

“criminally responsible for nearly 100 murders.”

Mr. Thaci had previously denied the allegations but said he would resign if the charges were confirmed by a judge, as they were this week.

Late Thursday, the court said that Mr. Thaci had arrived at The Hague and had entered the international detention center on the city’s outskirts. Two others, who were similarly indicted on charges of war crimes, Kadri Veseli, the leader of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, and Rexhep Selimi, a lawmaker, traveled with him and also entered the prison.

A judge at the court also confirmed war crimes charges against Jakup Krasniqi, a former interim president of Kosovo. Prosecutors said Wednesday that he had been arrested with the help of European Union authorities.

The indictment gave hope to “thousands of victims of the Kosovo war who have waited for more than two decades to find out the truth about the horrific crimes committed against them and their



Hashim Thaci, Kosovo’s president, was a guerrilla leader during the country’s battle for independence from Serbia in the 1990s.

loved ones,” said Jelena Sesar, Amnesty International’s Balkans researcher, in a statement. She added that it showed “senior officials are not above the law.”

Kosovo’s parliamentary speaker, Vjosa Osmani, took over Mr. Thaci’s duties, becoming act-

ing president in a ceremony on Thursday. Ms. Osmani, 38, said in a speech that Serbia was responsible for those who died in the war.

Mr. Thaci had been Kosovo’s president, a largely ceremonial role, since 2016, though he has also served as prime minister. He

is a mainstay of Kosovo’s politics whose supporters have heralded him as a war hero, while his critics have accused his government of corruption and of rigging the judiciary.

The war-crime accusations leveled against Mr. Thaci, Mr. Veseli and others in June include murder, enforced disappearance of people, persecution and torture, including of political opponents. But the charges needed to be reviewed by a judge and confirmed, which was the latest development.

More than 13,000 people died in the Kosovo war, mostly Kosovar Albanians killed by Serbian forces. But they also include some 2,000 Serbs, Roma and Kosovar Albanians killed in NATO bombing or by fighters like the Kosovo Liberation Army, according to figures from the Humanitarian Law Center.

The charges against the president were brought after Kosovo’s Parliament set up the special court in the Netherlands in 2015 to determine whether guerrilla

fighters had committed war crimes.

Prosecutors said that the charges were made public because of “repeated efforts” by Mr. Thaci and Mr. Veseli to obstruct the court, and that the two had carried out a secret campaign to “obstruct the work of the court in an attempt to ensure that they do not face justice.”

Though Kosovo won its sovereignty in 1999 and announced its independence in 2008, Serbia has refused to recognize Kosovo’s independence, and negotiations for a peace deal have flailed. European and American officials have been mediating dialogues between the two sides in the hopes of improving relations and securing a settlement.

News of the indictment in June delayed a planned meeting between Mr. Thaci and President Aleksandar Vucic of Serbia at the White House, the first formal talks between the two in over a year. Kosovo’s prime minister, Avdullah Hoti, attended a summit in September instead.

No Smoking in Public in North Korea! (Except Perhaps for You, Supreme Leader)

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL, South Korea — Nobody, except maybe his wife, dares to chastise Kim Jong-un on his home turf, even when it comes to the North Korean leader’s penchant for a smoke, including while visiting a children’s hospital.

So the adoption of a tough new law this week in North Korea that bans cigarette smoking in public places — with penalties for violators — has created a conundrum. What if Mr. Kim, who is regarded as a faultless deity in North Korea, breaks that law?

For years, North Korea has urged its people to quit smoking, posting no-smoking signs on public buildings and starting a national antismoking website. And for years, despite a family history of smoking-related illnesses, Mr. Kim has puffed away, contradicting the admonition his underlings have given everyone else.

The new “tobacco-prohibition law,” unanimously adopted by the Supreme People’s Assembly on Wednesday, makes that contradiction even more brazen.

The law “stipulates the rules which all the institutions, organizations and citizens must follow in protecting the lives and health of the people and providing more cultured and hygienic living environments,” the North’s official Korean Central News Agency said on Thursday. It applies to such public spaces as theaters, schools and hospitals.

According to South Korean and United States officials who have met Mr. Kim, no one in the country, with the possible exception of his wife, Ri Sol-ju, can tell him to quit. The totalitarian “Supreme Leader” of the isolated nation is considered incapable of error and above the law. People are taught to treat him as godlike. Schoolchildren and soldiers regularly sing a patriotic ode to the Kim



family, “No Motherland Without You!”

On North Korean state media, Mr. Kim can often be seen taking a drag of his cigarette while inspecting factories, talking with missile engineers, riding the subway and even visiting schools and children’s hospitals.

Mr. Kim was already drinking and smoking when he was in his teens, according to a Japanese sushi chef, Kenji Fujimoto, who served the Kim family in Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, and later recounted his experiences in memoirs and interviews.

Although Mr. Fujimoto said Mr. Kim likes the luxury Yves Saint Laurent brand, the North Korean leader’s preferences are not clear. North Korean news photographs have also shown him dragging on

the country’s premium 727 brand, which derives its name from July 27, 1953, the date of the armistice that halted the Korean War.

In 2017, North Korea’s state-run Central TV carried footage of Mr. Kim strolling yards away from a liquid-fueled intercontinental ballistic missile. He appeared to be casually holding a cigarette, leading some commentators to wonder whether Mr. Kim’s habit could cause a nuclear disaster.

Mr. Kim’s grandfather, Kim Il-sung, is still widely revered among North Koreans as the founder of their country. He often appeared in public holding a cigarette.

Since taking power in 2011, Mr. Kim has tried to resemble his grandfather in looks, sporting short hair and a Mao suit. Outside

analysts have speculated that Mr. Kim also gained weight to copy his grandfather’s hulking build, as part of a propaganda strategy.

The Kim rulers in North Korea have a history of cardiovascular diseases that South Korean intelligence officials have attributed to heavy smoking, drinking and obesity. Kim Il-sung died in 1994 of heart failure. His son and successor, Kim Jong-il, suffered a stroke in 2008 and died of cardiac arrest in 2011. Kim Jong-un himself has been plagued by rumors of poor health, including diabetes, cardiovascular trouble and ankle pains caused by his weight.

Mr. Kim’s father, Kim Jong-il, introduced the first antismoking campaign in North Korea, although he struggled to quit himself. He famously said, “the three greatest fools of the 21st century



Outside a supermarket in Pyongyang, the capital, in 2018. Nearly half of adult men in North Korea were smokers in 2017, a study found. One inveterate smoker is Kim Jong-un, the country’s leader, shown monitoring the launch of a rocket in 2012.

are those who can’t use the computer, can’t sing and can’t quit smoking.”

“The cigarette is like a gun pointed at your heart!” said one of the antismoking slogans North Korea adopted under Kim Jong-il.

More than 46 percent of adult men in North Korea were smokers in 2017, according to the World Health Organization. But defectors from the country said that the percentage could be much higher, as men take to smoking in their teens as a source of entertainment in a place with few alternatives. North Korea claims that no women smoke.

A common joke among North Korean men, according to defectors, is that it is possible to go “one day without eating, but no days without smoking.” Packs of cigarettes are used to bribe North Korean officials, they say.

A lifelong smoker, Kim Jong-il, stopped after a stroke, but was said to have later resumed, ac-

cording to South Korean officials.

His son, too, has found it hard to kick the habit.

According to Bob Woodward’s recent book “Rage,” when the American nuclear envoy, Andy Kim, met Mr. Kim in 2018 in Pyongyang, he saw the North Korean leader light up and told him it was bad for his health. Mr. Kim’s top aide, Kim Yong-chol, and his sister, Kim Yo-jong, both froze. No one in North Korea ever spoke to their leader that way, except for one person. According to Mr. Woodward, quoting Andy Kim, Ms. Ri acknowledged that was right: “I’ve told my husband about the dangers of smoking,” she said.

And in July, two months after North Korea announced that it was expanding its no-smoking zone policies, Central TV showed Mr. Kim inspecting a new general hospital under construction in Pyongyang.

He was smoking.

Hunter Burial Casts Doubt On Ancient Gender Divide

By JAMES GORMAN

The discovery of a 9,000-year-old female skeleton buried with what archaeologists call a “big-game hunting kit” in the Andes highlands of Peru has challenged one of the most widely held tenets about ancient hunter gatherers — that males hunted and females gathered.

Randy Haas, an archaeologist at the University of California, Davis, and a group of colleagues, concluded in a paper published in the journal *Science Advances* on Wednesday that this young woman was a big game hunter, who participated with her people in the pursuit of the vicuña and deer that made up a significant portion of their diet.

The find of a female hunter is unusual. But Dr. Haas and his colleagues make a larger claim about the division of labor at this time period in the Americas. They argue that additional research shows something close to equal participation in hunting for both sexes. In general, they conclude, “early females in the Americas were big game hunters.”

Other scientists found the claim that the remains were those of a female hunter convincing, but some said the data didn’t support the broader claim.

Robert L. Kelly, an anthropologist at the University of Wyoming who has written extensively on hunter gatherers, said that while one female skeleton may well have been a hunter, he was not persuaded by the analysis of other burials that “the prevalence of male-female hunters was near parity.” The researchers’ sample of graves was small, he said, noting that none of the other burials were clearly female hunters.

Bonnie L. Pitblado, an anthropologist at the University of Oklahoma whose specialty is the peopling of the Americas, said the findings were “well-reasoned and an important idea for future testing.” The authors could question gender roles further and what determined them, she said, calling the study “a really refreshing contribution” to studies of early settlers of the Americas.

In most contemporary and recent societies of hunter gatherers, Dr. Haas said, it is well-established that hunting is predominantly done by males. Archaeological evidence has tended to support the conclusion that past gender roles were similar. On occasion, female remains have been associated with materials that suggested that they were hunters but the examples have been treated as outliers. What if they weren’t, Dr. Haas suggested, and the overall view of hunting should be adjusted?

He and others found the grave of the young female with the hunting materials at a site called Wilamaya Patjxa in the Puno district of southern Peru at an altitude of almost 13,000 feet. A Pilco Quispe, a



Excavations at the Wilamaya Patjxa site in Peru revealed, among 20,000 artifacts, the remains of a woman with the gear of a big-game hunter.

local collaborator, first found artifacts in that area in 2013 near the community of Mulla Fasiri. In 2018, working with community members, Dr. Haas and others excavated an area of about 400 square feet, recovering about 20,000 artifacts. They found five burial sites with remains of six people, one of whom was the hunter.

That find was particularly exciting. One of his collaborators kept finding projectile points, Dr. Haas said, and then a collection of points and other stone tools, with the remains of a skeleton. The group of excavators was thrilled, he said, and the substance of the

conversation was, “Oh, he must have been a great chief. He was a great hunter.”

As it turned out, the buried person, who now goes by the scientific identifier WMP6, was female, about 17-19 years old. Her bones were lighter than might have been expected for a male, and a study of proteins in dental enamel, a relatively new technique for sex identification, showed she was definitely female.

Dr. Haas then looked at 429 burials in the Americas from about 14,000 to 8,000 years ago and identified 27 individuals whose sex had been determined who were found with big game

hunting implements. Eleven were female and 16 were male. He and his authors acknowledged that the data was not conclusive for these burials, and that the only individual that was undeniably female and a hunter was the person from Wilamaya Patjxa. But, Dr. Haas said, the preponderance of the evidence still led to the conclusion that females were about 30 to 50 percent of the big game hunters.

That conclusion is what Dr. Kelly found unsubstantiated. Two of the burials were of infants, which Dr. Haas and his collaborators described as buried with artifacts that suggested they would be hunters. And he cautioned about reading too much into burials. “The interpretation of grave goods, as a cultural, symbolic act, is not simple or straightforward.”

He had criticisms of the interpretation of the other skeletons as well, and said, “If we accept WMP6 as the only female hunter in the sample, then it suggests the most likely prevalence of female hunters is 10 percent. I would not be surprised at that.”

Military Push Brings a Feud in Ethiopia Closer to Civil War

By ABDI LATIF DAHIR

CAIRO — Ethiopia edged to the brink of civil war this week after Abiy Ahmed, its Nobel Peace Prize-winning prime minister, ordered a military offensive against the government of the country’s northern Tigray region.

The military operation, which began on Wednesday and escalated on Thursday, came after Mr. Abiy accused the region’s ruling party of attacking a government defense post and attempting to steal artillery and military equipment.

A long-simmering feud between the federal government and the powerful faction in control of Tigray has been barreling toward such a violent confrontation in recent months. The conflict comes as Ethiopia, Africa’s second-most populous nation, faces mounting economic and social challenges amid a volatile democratic transition.

Why is Tigray important?

Tigray, the northernmost region of Ethiopia, is home to the Tigrayan people who make up an estimated 6 percent of the country’s population of more than 110 million. Despite its small numbers, the Tigrayan ethnic group has for almost three decades enjoyed disproportionate power and

group were purged from positions of power and arrested in corruption and security-related crack-downs — opening a deep chasm between the Tigray region, governed by the T.P.L.F., and the federal government.

Mr. Abiy has said that he wants to unify the country by increasing the federal government’s power and minimizing the autonomy of the regional governments. But Tigray has openly resisted, and other regions and ethnic groups are uneasy with Mr. Abiy’s centralization push.

Why did Mr. Abiy launch a military offensive?

Mr. Abiy said the government’s offensive was in response to an attack early Wednesday morning by the T.P.L.F. on a military base in Tigray. Mr. Abiy said in a televised speech later that day that during the assault, many federal troops had been “martyred” and wounded.

Mr. Abiy did not provide details, and it was impossible to verify his account because early Wednesday morning, the government of Ethiopia shut down internet and phone communications in the Tigray region, according to the digital rights group Access Now.

On Thursday afternoon, Gen. Birhanu Jula, the deputy chief of the Ethiopian National Defense Force, said there were “injured soldiers on both sides.”

The tense relationship between the two sides had worsened in recent months. Tigray defied the federal government by deciding to hold parliamentary elections in September, even though general elections were postponed because of the coronavirus pandemic. Ethiopian lawmakers voted to cut funding to the region in October, a move that incensed Tigray leaders.

Following the announcement of the offensive, Mr. Abiy’s cabinet declared a six-month state of emergency in Tigray.

Tigray officials responded with a statement read on television that said they prohibited the movement of national defense forces into the region. They declared that soldiers from the Northern Command of the Ethiopian military had defected and sided with the Tigray people and announced the closure of airspace over the region.

How might this conflict affect Ethiopia and its neighbors?

The military offensive comes at a time when Mr. Abiy’s government faces serious challenges on multiple fronts. Besides battling the pandemic and working to boost a debt-laden economy, Mr. Abiy is confronting disaffection within his own Oromo ethnic community, many of whom say they do not see much progress despite his promises of change. Many Oromo have also criticized his government’s crackdown on them following the ethnic violence that resulted from the killing in June of a prominent Oromo singer, Hachalu Hundessa.

What has Mr. Abiy done since coming to power?

At 44, Mr. Abiy is among the youngest and one of the most closely watched leaders in Africa.

Since coming to power two years ago, he has reshaped Ethiopia’s political and economic trajectory. The son of a Muslim father and a Christian mother, he has freed political prisoners, welcomed back exiled opposition groups, helped end hostilities with neighboring Eritrea and played a role in mediating regional conflicts inside and between nations, including Sudan, South Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya and Somalia. His efforts earned him the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize.

As part of his vision for a more unified Ethiopia, he last year launched the Prosperity Party, which has brought together members of the former ruling coalition — with the exception of the Tigray — along with previously excluded ethnic groups.



Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia ordered a surprise military offensive against the country’s northern Tigray region.

But over the past year, Mr. Abiy has come under criticism as his government detained opposition leaders, and security officers were accused of killing hundreds of people following unrest involving different ethnic groups. Mr. Abiy’s government has also re-

sorted to old tactics by shutting down the internet and arresting journalists.

Jawar Mohammed, the prime minister’s biggest challenger, who hails from the same Oromo community, is currently in prison and charged with terrorism.



Home of the politically powerful Tigrayan ethnic group.

influence in government affairs.

After fighting the military dictatorship that ruled Ethiopia in the 1970s and 1980s, the Tigray People’s Liberation Front, or T.P.L.F., emerged as the leader of the coalition that took power in the country in 1991. The coalition, known as the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front, consisted of four main political parties, largely split along ethnic and geographic lines, and it backed a federalist approach that gave significant power to Ethiopia’s regions.

Meles Zenawi, a Tigrayan, led Ethiopia from 1991 until his death in 2012, during which time Ethiopia became a stable nation in a turbulent region and experienced significant economic growth. But the coalition controlled all levers of power and repressed almost all political opposition.

Anti-government protests propelled Mr. Abiy into the prime minister’s office in 2018. Soon after, members of the Tigray ethnic



A parade marking the 45th anniversary of the establishment of the Tigray People’s Liberation Front, in Mekelle, in February.





After a day of ice fishing on the Ob River, a man heads for home with his catch on a sled.



Worshippers gather for a meal after services at the Russian Orthodox church.

THE WORLD THROUGH A LENS

Harsh, Haunted Landscape in Far East of Russia

At the onset of the coronavirus pandemic, with travel restrictions in place worldwide, we began this series, in which photojournalists help transport you, virtually, to some of our planet's most beautiful and intriguing places.

**Photographs and Text
by EMILE DUCKE**

Every night around 4 a.m., in a remote corner of Western Siberia, Olga Voroshilova and her partner, Yevgeny Sadokhin, would crouch around a crackling Soviet-era radio and repeat a seemingly random series of numbers from one outpost to the next.

“Shum-5. Shum-4. Do you copy that? I am Shum-5. Speak.”

It was the nightly relay of the weather data, gathered from the wind vanes and barometers surrounding their home, a secluded meteorological station on the isolated banks of the Ket River.

The couple, together with their daughter, Ksenia, and another family, had moved to the weather station just a few weeks before. They had exchanged their jobs and apartments in the regional capital, Tomsk, for the liberty of a life in the wild, away from the rest of the world.

The station had no phone signal and no internet line. Some of their food would come in packages, sent intermittently, from the local weather service headquarters. Supplies would include a few bars of chocolate, which the families generously shared with me when I stayed there for a few days in July of 2016.

I was traveling the Ket River that summer, exploring the remote and isolated communities living along its banks.

Though serpentine and relatively small, the Ket River was once part of a significant thoroughfare in Siberia. After the construction of a canal in the late 19th century, it served as a corridor that linked two of Russia's biggest river basins, the Ob and Yenisey.

Extreme weather here wreaks havoc on overland roads, which fluctuate between muddy and rubbly in the summer and inaccessibly icy in the winter. Driving distances are



Stepan Borisov and Antonina Borisova sit with their granddaughter in their home in Aidara. The village is mainly of a community of Russian Orthodox Old Believers. Below, a bath in a frozen lake, and a girl tossing feathers in an abandoned house.



Carving out a life in what was once a vast prison for exiles.

measured in days and weeks. The Ket River, by comparison, offered a reliable mode of transportation — at least until the Trans-Siberian Railway was built.

By the early 1900s, west-to-east traffic in the region — including farmers, traders and Tsarist troops — had begun to rely on the railway. Fewer and fewer travelers needed the Ket.

For the weather station's residents, Ket's remoteness offered the promise of personal freedom. Historically, though, the region's isolated location served as the grounds for a prison, one that relied on endless miles of emptiness instead of walls or barbed wire.

Many political dissidents and revolutionaries were sent into forced exile to the village of Narym, close to where the Ket River meets the Ob. Among them was Joseph Stalin himself.

When Stalin became the Soviet leader, he continued the practice, deporting hundreds of thousands of people to the vast and desolate areas north of Tomsk, including Narym.

Today their descendants make up a large portion of the

village's population.

At Aidara, another community on the riverbank, members of the Old Believers, a religious group that split from the Russian Orthodox Church in the 17th century in protest against reforms, make up the majority of the village's roughly 150 residents.

Persecuted in Tsarist Russia and marginalized during the Soviet era for their religious beliefs, Old Believers scattered across the country, settling in its most isolated corners.

The distance, for them, meant protection.

I returned to the Ket River in January of 2018, when temperatures held between minus 20 and minus 50 degrees Fahrenheit, turning the river into a snaking, sturdy avenue of ice. Villagers in Narym drilled holes into the



Smoke from the chimneys on a starry night in Katayga.

frozen surface of the Ob River, near the mouth of the Ket, threw in their nets and waited for fish.

Upriver in the settlement of Katayga, where there is no bridge, loggers had been waiting for the river to turn into a solid, icy road. The piles of lumber they had racked up could finally be stacked on trucks and sent across the river for distribution.

My first visit to one of Katayga's lumber mills, though, was a lonely one: That day, the usual bustle of workers had been replaced by a pile of handwritten sick notes on the director's desk. “Hangovers,” the director explained.

Religious observance here is also affected by the isolation.

With no priest residing in the settlement itself, Katayga's Russian Orthodox Church was sup-

posed to be visited regularly by a priest from the neighboring village. But the neighboring village is a six hours' journey (by road and ferry), and so the clergyman rarely came by. In his absence, Marina Proskina, a Katayga resident, took over some of his duties, leading Sunday services, reading the prayers and anointing believers with oil in the sign of the cross.

Normally, in the Russian Orthodox Church, women assume less ecclesiastical roles; they sweep floorboards, sell candles and lead classes for children. The role and duties of a priest are reserved exclusively for men.

But such strict rules and regulations could not withstand the remoteness of Ket — and so, along the river, a different kind of freedom was formed.

Emile Duche is a German documentary photographer based in Moscow.

Tears, Hugs and Change of Clothes for Former Inmates

Virus Risks Prompt Release of Prisoners Across New Jersey

This article is by Tracey Tully, Nate Schweber and Kevin Armstrong.

TRENTON, N.J. — Brenton McPherson took a long sip of fresh air, borrowed a stranger’s phone to call his mother and walked across a busy highway Wednesday toward a train station, his back turned away from a hulking state prison for what he hoped was the last time.

After five years, the 35-year-old father of two was free.

“I tell him this is his last chance,” his mother, Christine Guidas, said after wrapping him in a hug outside a McDonald’s in Trenton.

“Look! I’m bigger than you,” his 15-year-old son — who was 10 when Mr. McPherson was convicted of second-degree robbery — teased from the back of a black minivan.

He was, by at least four inches.

Mr. McPherson was one of 2,258 inmates released on Wednesday from prisons and halfway houses across New Jersey in one of the largest-ever single-day reductions of any state’s prison population.

Only prisoners within a year of completing sentences for crimes other than murder and sexual assault are eligible to be released up to eight months early.

Over the coming months, another 1,167 prisoners will be freed to reduce the risks of the coronavirus in crowded lockups where social distancing is next to impossible. In all, the releases will result in a roughly 35 percent reduction in New Jersey’s prison population since the start of the pandemic.

The initiative grew out of legislation signed into law last month and comes at a moment of intense national debate over transforming a criminal justice system that imprisons people of color in disproportionate numbers.

But politics and criminal justice policy were far from the minds of most people waiting in crowds to spot their loved ones walking out of prison gates, or off buses and trains, into their arms.

Outside Northern State Prison in Newark, a line of cars stretched along the road early on Wednesday.

Allan Campbell, a 41-year-old Passaic County man imprisoned for a parole violation, was released around 7 a.m. His mother, who had traveled to Newark from Paterson, had expected him to be let out in the afternoon, so he waited on the roadside for a ride.

“I’m so glad to get out — I just thank God,” said Mr. Campbell, dressed in a freshly issued pair of jeans and a white shirt.

The released prisoners were easy to spot: Each carried a white mesh laundry bag filled with manila envelopes that held their prison health records, state ID cards and leaflets about addiction treatment programs and re-entry services.

The uncle of a 32-year-old man who was leaving New Jersey State Prison in Trenton after more than a decade passed around his cellphone so the half-dozen men waiting to take a train toward home could create PIN codes for the bank debit cards that held the balance of their commissary accounts.

The men spoke of people they knew who had contracted the virus, and the lockdown measures in place since March that kept them inside small rooms with a bunk mate for as many as 23 hours a day.

Mr. Campbell said a man in his unit died of Covid-19, one of at least 52 virus-related inmate fatalities in New Jersey prisons. He said he had worried about getting the virus, and in June he was quarantined for seven days with a fever of 100.7.

Deborah Walker said she could not sleep Tuesday night, anxious about the two-hour drive to Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women in Clinton, N.J., and her reunion with Shameka Henry, 32, a young woman she considers her daughter.

Ms. Walker began to cry as she embraced Ms. Henry, who cried, too.

Then Ms. Henry, who was serving time for burglary and assault, changed into fresh clothes and a pair of Timberland boots that Ms. Walker had brought, and made quick work of her prison garb: She stuffed the uniform into a plastic bag and tossed it into a dumpster across the parking lot.

As the two women prepared to pull away, Ms. Henry shouted to a



JONAH MARKOWITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Freed inmates from Northern State Prison leaving a bus in Newark, N.J. More than 2,250 were released on Wednesday.



JONAH MARKOWITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Calvin Coolidge Scott savored his first moments of freedom after being released early from prison on Wednesday.



JONAH MARKOWITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lanette Averye reuniting with her boyfriend, Franceau Belizaire, for the first time in seven years.



HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shakiyah McClinton rushing to her sister outside the Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women in Clinton, N.J.



HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shameka Henry, left, with Deborah Walker, who said Ms. Henry was like a daughter to her, outside the Mahan facility.

guard: “Bye, J Rod.”

“Look at you!” he said about the new outfit. “I don’t even know who you are.”

Maria Gellatly, 42, was imprisoned for possessing heroin and shoplifting. She served about a year, but violated the terms of her parole after she was released and was sent back to prison for another 14 months.

“I’m a little shaky,” she said. “I’m happy that I’m out, but I’m just really overwhelmed about going back into society with the whole pandemic.”

She was released on a day when New Jersey, which is grappling with an alarming uptick in virus cases, reported 2,472 new infections, the largest number since May.

Ms. Gellatly said that while she was locked up, her wife, Melanie Marshall, died.

“Her not being here — I’m happy but sad,” Ms. Gellatly said. “It’s all bittersweet.”

Opponents of the bill, which was the first legislative initiative of its kind in the country, said they were worried about releasing so many inmates at once and potentially

creating a public safety risk.

Assemblyman Jon M. Bramnick, the Republican minority leader, said he opposed the bill because it included people convicted of certain violent crimes.

Reed Gusciora, the mayor of Trenton, where killings have more than doubled since last year, has said he was concerned that many of the people returning home early will be unable to find jobs and will return to the patterns that put them behind bars in the first place.

Prisoners in all state lockups are tested regularly for the virus, and the infection rate is now less than 1 percent after surging in the spring. But the legislation, which enables prisoners to earn credit for time served during the health crisis, is binding, and even those who had contracted the virus had to be released if they were eligible.

Dr. Mark Wade, the director of the Department of Health and Human Wellness in Newark, said he called the state on Tuesday to ask for enough rapid Covid-19 tests so that each of the 160 people who were expected to arrive in Newark after being released from prison could be assessed.

Not only did the state send the tests, Dr. Wade said, but it provided workers to administer them.

Anyone who did test positive would be taken to a hotel to quarantine, he said.

Many people whose family members picked them up left directly from prison; others were taken to transit hubs and given vouchers to pay for a bus or train.

Near the Trenton train station, families began arriving at 6:30 a.m., and many were still waiting for relatives in the afternoon.

Kory Hiii, 26, of Newark, was waiting for his brother who had been in prison for six years. New silver sneakers and a button-down shirt monogrammed with his brother’s initials sat waiting on the hood of his car.

The distance, Mr. Hiii said, has been especially hard since the virus hit in March.

“It’s a nerve-racking thing,” said Mr. Hiii. “But he’s coming home today, and God willing he just moves forward.”

Volunteers from an array of social justice organizations and re-entry groups fanned out to greet

people at major train stations across the state.

At the New Jersey Transit station in Somerville, two volunteers lined up sweaters, coats, masks and bottles of hand sanitizer near a large sign that read, “Welcome Home.”

“Would you like a doughnut?” Catherine Lent, a volunteer with American Reentry Initiative, asked a woman who was headed to Camden and still wearing her correctional facility ID badge clipped to her prison-issued sweatpants.

“Oh, my God!” said the woman, Ronnelle Boyce. “Yes!”

Ms. Boyce, 37, tried on coats and gloves and claimed a roller suitcase to carry the new clothing.

“I just chose the wrong path before,” Ms. Boyce, who was imprisoned for aggravated assault, said before running off to catch a train. “I’m not going back. This is all a blessing!”

After the train left with a dozen newly released women on board, a denim jacket, issued by the New Jersey Department of Corrections, still hung on a railing. A half-full cup of coffee sat beneath it.

Moratorium Bars Insurers From Ending Fire Policies

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE

As California reels from this year’s record wildfires, the state announced on Thursday that it would prevent insurance companies from dropping homeowners for one year in many parts of the state, a sign of the growing financial turmoil caused by climate change.

The measure, which applies to almost one-fifth of the state’s residential insurance market, prohibits companies from canceling or refusing to renew insurance policies for 2.1 million households in or near areas hit by this year’s wildfires.

The announcement reflects the increasing strain that climate change has placed on California, which had imposed a similar moratorium once before, at a smaller scale. As rising temperatures and longer droughts make wildfires more devastating, some insurers have responded to enormous financial losses by leaving fire-prone communities. That threatens the economies of those areas, because homes that can’t easily be insured are harder to sell, and nearly impossible to rebuild after a fire.

California’s struggles are a preview of the threat that climate change poses to the long-term economic health of communities around the country. Insurers have begun pulling back from fire-prone areas in other states across the West. And in communities near oceans or rivers, the increasing cost of flood insurance poses a similar risk, driving down home values and make them harder to sell.

In response to growing climate risks, state officials have intervened to stop insurers from leaving high-risk areas. In December, California’s insurance commissioner, Ricardo Lara, for the first time imposed a similar one-year moratorium on insurers dropping coverage for more than 1 million policyholders in or near areas affected by wildfires.

Mr. Lara’s office declined to make him available for an interview. In a statement, he said the new policy “gives millions of Californians breathing room and hits the pause button on insurance non-renewals while we take additional steps to expand our competitive market.”

Still, the state’s ability to shield homeowners from the consequences of climate change is limited. The moratorium cannot be extended, which means that insurers who want to stop offering coverage in high-risk areas will eventually be able to do so.

Insurers have said that if the state wants them to keep doing business in those areas, officials must make it easier to allow insurance companies to charge higher premiums, reflecting what they say is the true risk from wildfires.

A bill that would have allowed insurers to take those steps, including justifying rate increases using computer models that predict future risk, failed to pass the state legislature this year after consumer groups said it would impose an unfair burden on homeowners.

In a statement, two groups that represent insurers, the American Property Casualty Insurance Association and the Personal Insurance Federation of California, did not take a position on the moratorium. The groups said that more frequent wildfires bring a higher risk of property damage, “and we need to adapt to this new reality.”

People who lose access to private insurance can still buy coverage from a high-risk state program called the Fair Access to Insurance Requirements plan. But that coverage is typically more expensive and covers fewer types of damage.

The state’s longer-term strategy involves encouraging local officials to reduce exposure and vulnerability to wildfire, through tougher building codes or rules about managing the vegetation around homes.

But the most promising changes tend to be restrictions on home construction in vulnerable areas. And those restrictions provoke strong pushback in California.

Carolyn Kousky, executive director of the Wharton Risk Center at the University of Pennsylvania, said the new moratorium would not solve the underlying problem of growing climate risk.

“This problem’s not going to go away. That raises a lot of questions about how we’re building and where we’re building,” Dr. Kousky said. “Clearly the market needs something much beyond this.”

‘Magic in the Dirt’



By JULIA TURSHEN

Photographs by
BRIAN DAWSON
for The New York Times

It’s the first harvest season of an unparalleled year. We visited three small farms, where we found people cultivating far more than food. Despite quarantines and lockdowns and disruptions, they are nurturing networks. It’s both inspiring and instructive to see how we can grow together when we grow together.



SOUL FIRE FARM, GRAFTON, N.Y.

Feeding a community, one box of tomatoes at a time.

Arriving at Soul Fire Farm’s gravel road means slowing down, literally. On the property, in addition to stacks and stacks of crates, buckets and shovels, there are also cardboard boxes to pack food for community groups, each one labeled in marker: Church. Refugee center.

Leah Penniman, the author of “Farming While Black” and the co-director of Soul Fire Farm, is a former public school science teacher and aerial trapeze artist who started farming with her partner and children out of necessity. When they lived in Albany, the family — and their neighbors — were unable to get fresh food. They lived in what some call a food desert — but what the food justice activist Karen Washington (who sits on Soul Fire Farm’s board of directors) would call a food apartheid. She says the unavailability of fresh food is not by natural occurrence, the way a desert appears in a landscape, but by the cumulative effects of systemic racism that affects some communities.

Ms. Penniman and her team now tend to crops on the 80 acres they own, feeding her family and neighbors as well as the wider community. And they train others.

Ms. Penniman says she views the land not as a commodity, but as a deity. What about the pests who eat her beautiful greens? “The vole’s job is to eat all of this lettuce,” she says, “and my job as the farmer is to have the vole not eat the lettuce.” She’s also talking about how we all coexist. An understanding of balance. Embracing the places we overlap instead of using those lines to further divide us.

When stay-at-home orders began, Ms. Penniman had been on a book tour. Everything has been disrupted. “Some people are asking, ‘What’s the meaning of life?’ right now,” she says. Does she have an answer? “Oh, you know, something about love and service.”

Julia Turshen is a best-selling cookbook author and the founder of Equity at the Table, an inclusive digital directory of women/nonbinary individuals in food. Brian Dawson is an American filmmaker, director of photography and designer based in Brooklyn.



As we talk, Ms. Penniman stays in motion, snipping the fronds from fennel bulbs, leaving the roots in the soil. She’ll get two harvests from the plants: The fronds can be dried and used for tea, chopped for salads, or made into pesto. The bulbs, which will be ready in a week or two when they are larger, are best roasted. Both the fennel and its harvester are patient and generous. There’s so much in the air: The fragrance of herbs drying in the sun, the scent of freshly sawed wood, the damp mushroom smell of the forest where the pigs live, pig grunts, and the hum of constant human

Brooke Bridges at Soul Fire Farm, outside Grafton, N.Y. The farm of about 80 acres was co-founded by Leah Penniman, a former teacher and trapeze artist, when she struggled to find fresh food at home in Albany.

communication.

Though geographically and culturally distinct, Soul Fire Farm has much in common with Spirit Farm, an Indigenous regenerative farm in Gallup, N.M., and Detroit Hives, which places beehives in vacant lots. Each small organization, centered on food, exists not merely for itself, but for the greater good. All have been doing this work for years, and it has primed them to respond to the current moment. They have honed a coveted skill: reacting to unpredictability with patience, adaptability, resilience and a remarkable amount of hope.



From Here

From Here is an ongoing collection of visually immersive stories that explore how communities are gathering in a time of unprecedented change.

➤ **ONLINE:** For more, go to [nytimes.com/fromhere](https://www.nytimes.com/fromhere).



Top left, Soul Fire Farm outside Grafton, N.Y.; and a hoop house at Spirit Farm, a demonstration site started by James and Joyce Skeet near Gallup, N.M. Ms. Skeet said the experience had taught her to “be one with the Earth.” Above, residents of Detroit Hives, started by Timothy Paule and Nicole Lindsey after Mr. Paule had a nagging cold, and began researching honey’s medicinal properties.

SPIRIT FARM, NAVAJO NATION (NEW MEXICO)

‘To be connected is to walk in beauty.’



Harriet Yazzie, top, a board member of Spirit Farm near Gallup, N.M., with freshly picked tomatoes to be sorted. James Skeet, a co-founder of the farm, preparing an outdoor stove to cook corn.

Driving into the Navajo Nation, big sandstone bluffs are followed by rolling hills with lots of sage and juniper. A paved road turns into a dirt road and then there's the small compound, with pens for animals (pigs, chickens and Navajo-Churros, a type of indigenous sheep), and several structures, including a large octagonal building where workshops are held. Spirit Farm is a demonstration farm — its purpose is to educate.

James and Joyce Skeet both worked in the corporate world and kept seeing the disconnects between health care and health. He and Ms. Skeet kept saying, “We got to do something different.” In 2014, they co-founded Spirit Farm. Ms. Skeet now tells me she has learned “not to dominate the Earth, but to be one with the Earth.” Mr. Skeet says he once watched someone cry as they realized they were eating a plate of food consisting only of things grown right on the farm. Mr. Skeet explains that this everyday connection to the land and what it offers, the feeling of being tethered to one another, is “hózhó,” the Navajo word that describes living in a holistic way. When you live in it, he says, you walk in beauty.

It seems Mr. Skeet is always looking for the connective tissue that creates community, even within the soil. He speaks lyrically about compost and how it makes everything it weaves itself into more nourished. He says that when he started farming, the soil was dead. The compost regenerated it — brought life into it. From depletion to density. Harriet Yazzie, a board member of Spirit Farm, visits regularly. “I have to keep my hands busy and keep myself occupied,” she says. “It’s always a welcome feeling. It’s so peaceful.” Ms. Yazzie says she talks to the plants all the time. “A lot of it is just thanking them.”

When he discusses the soil and the compost and the microbes, Mr. Skeet’s voice sounds like a smile — especially when he talks about the “chemistry of these little bugs who make magic in the dirt.” Mr. Skeet says that the fruits and vegetables he grows in nutrient-dense soil taste sweeter.

DETROIT HIVES, MICHIGAN

The purpose and passion of keeping bees.



Timothy Paule and Nicole Lindsey checking on a beehive in a community garden in Detroit. In caring for bees, he said, “you see purpose in all living things.”

Timothy Paule and his partner, Nicole Lindsey, are nurturing a different kind of sweetness: honey. Before starting Detroit Hives, Mr. Paule had a cold that would not go away. Frustrated, he researched the medicinal properties of honey. As he and Ms. Lindsey learned about bees, they simultaneously looked around at all the empty space in their native city. They connected the dots. Now they have 45 hives across Detroit.

Ms. Lindsey was once terrified of bees. “Education transformed that fear into love,” she says. That love really shines, right down to how they painted their bee hives. One has the Greek letters from the fraternity that Mr. Paule belonged to; another has the Nike swoosh, as if it were a shoe box. When she puts on her beekeeping suit, Ms. Lindsey says she feels “like Superwoman.” When young Black girls see her wearing it, she says, “I imagine it just widens their minds. They can do something different that they never

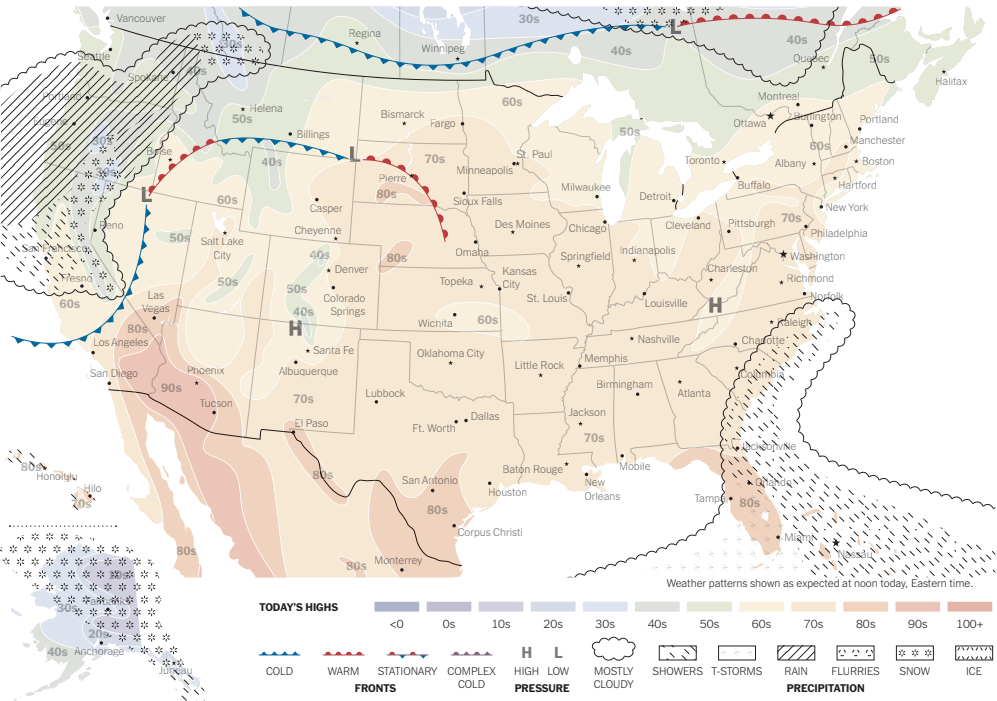
even thought of.”

When Mr. Paule speaks about beekeeping, it’s reminiscent of Mr. Skeet talking about compost, or Ms. Penniman and the voles. There’s a passion, an understanding, a compassionate insight. “You can mess up the ecological balance if you don’t appreciate everything,” Mr. Paule says. “By caring for bees,” he adds, “you see purpose in all living things.” He points out that pollinators pollinate most of our food — without them, we would lose so much. Ms. Lindsey and Mr. Paule sometimes just drive by the hives to see how they’re doing. She talks to the bees, just like Ms. Yazzie talks to the plants in New Mexico. Ms. Penniman also says she can hear her ancestors guiding her when she’s in the fields at Soul Fire Farm.

Ms. Lindsey points out that the bees have a lot to teach us about building community. “The queen bee can’t even clean herself without the sweat equity of the worker bees. They need each other.”

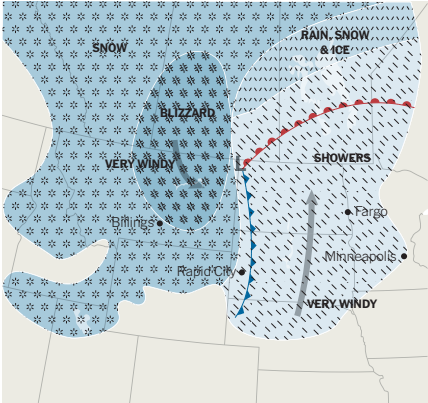
Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: A Potent Storm in the Northern Plains

A division between late summer and winter conditions will be at play in the northern Plains this weekend. Very gusty winds will create whiteout and blizzard conditions in northern Montana into southern Saskatchewan on Sunday behind a potent cold front. Ahead of the front, unseasonably warm air and gusty south winds will prevail along with showers in the northern Plains.



National Forecast

Much of the area from Arizona to Mississippi, the Dakotas and Maine will have dry weather, sunshine and above-average temperatures. Record highs may be challenged. A bulge in the jet stream will promote warm, storm-free conditions. Brisk winds will bring showers, rough surf and above-normal tides from eastern Florida to the Carolina coast. From Washington and Idaho to California, much colder air will plunge in. Low-elevation rain and mountain snow will accompany the cold push. Gusty winds will precede the colder air over the Southwest, with blowing dust and an elevated wildfire risk. Eta will move over the northwestern Caribbean en route to Cuba on Saturday night and South Florida on Sunday.

Metropolitan Forecast

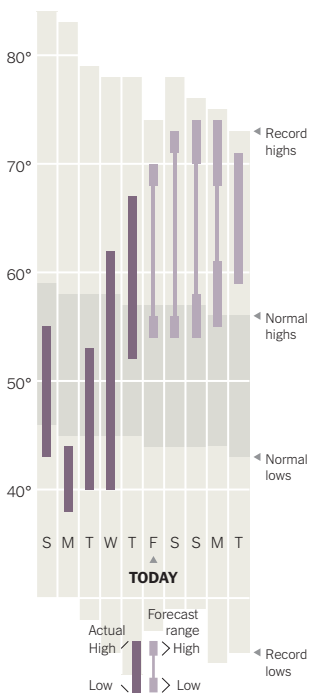
TODAYBecoming mostly sunny
High 69. A temporary weakening of the high pressure system will result low clouds and fog to start the day. Ultimately, warming sunshine will return.

TONIGHTClear
Low 55. High pressure will result in clear skies and dry weather through the night. It will be a mild night in the city, but some suburban areas will be cooler.

TOMORROWSunny and very warm
High 72. Saturday will be sunny as high pressure remains in control. The sunshine will help to boost temperatures well above average for early November, and any breezes will be light.

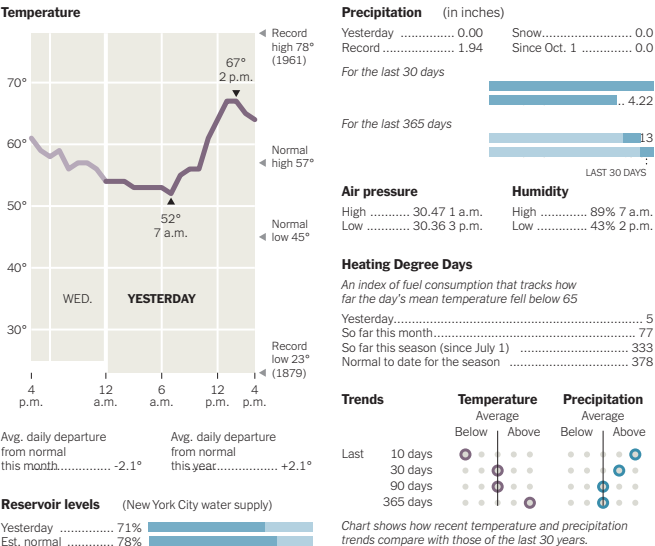
SUNDAYMostly sunny, warm
It will be sunny and warm as high pressure refuses to move away. Temperatures will challenge the record high for the date, and breezes will remain light.

MONDAY
TUESDAYRemaining warm
Monday will be another unseasonably warm day under hazy sunshine, with a light breeze. High 71. Tuesday will be increasingly cloudy, with late-day or night-time showers possible. High 68.



Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.



Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sa	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	-	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	67/ 52 0	69/ 55 S	72/ 55 S
Bridgeport	65/ 46 0	69/ 50 S	68/ 50 S
Caldwell	69/ 39 0	72/ 47 S	73/ 48 S
Danbury	66/ 44 0	68/ 44 S	70/ 45 S
Islip	62/ 51 0.01	68/ 48 S	67/ 49 S
Newark	67/ 45 Tr	68/ 50 S	71/ 51 S
Trenton	63/ 40 0.01	70/ 46 S	72/ 47 S
White Plains	66/ 42 0	67/ 47 S	69/ 48 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	63/ 47 0	67/ 42 PC	66/ 42 PC
Albuquerque	74/ 46 0	71/ 49 PC	69/ 47 W
Anchorage	22/ 18 0	26/ 21 PC	28/ 26 Sn
Atlanta	71/ 55 0	73/ 60 PC	73/ 63 PC
Atlantic City	67/ 57 0	71/ 51 PC	70/ 52 S
Austin	82/ 57 0	80/ 51 PC	81/ 57 S
Baltimore	68/ 47 0	72/ 45 S	73/ 49 S
Baton Rouge	76/ 54 0	79/ 61 S	76/ 65 Sh
Birmingham	72/ 54 0	75/ 60 PC	76/ 64 S
Boise	72/ 46 0	69/ 38 C	54/ 33 R
Boston	68/ 55 0	66/ 49 PC	68/ 49 PC
Buffalo	63/ 52 0	65/ 48 S	69/ 50 S
Burlington	65/ 48 0	64/ 49 PC	62/ 47 PC
Casper	71/ 46 0	72/ 45 W	69/ 41 PC
Charlotte	72/ 50 0	74/ 55 PC	73/ 58 C
Chattanooga	69/ 48 0	74/ 52 PC	74/ 56 C
Chicago	72/ 48 0	72/ 52 S	72/ 53 S
Cincinnati	66/ 45 0	69/ 44 S	70/ 49 S
Cleveland	66/ 49 0	71/ 48 S	71/ 53 S
Colorado Springs	73/ 42 0	73/ 49 PC	69/ 46 S
Columbus	66/ 43 0	70/ 42 S	72/ 50 S
Concord, N.H.	63/ 46 0	66/ 44 PC	66/ 41 PC
Dallas-Ft. Worth	74/ 58 0	75/ 54 S	75/ 58 S
Denver	76/ 44 Tr	74/ 50 PC	73/ 48 W
Des Moines	75/ 47 0	72/ 54 S	71/ 55 PC
Detroit	68/ 47 0	67/ 46 S	69/ 46 S
El Paso	84/ 53 0	81/ 55 C	81/ 59 C
Fargo	68/ 44 0	71/ 43 S	63/ 56 PC
Hartford	66/ 51 0	72/ 45 PC	72/ 45 PC
Honolulu	86/ 74 0.01	86/ 74 PC	85/ 74 PC
Houston	79/ 55 0	79/ 57 S	78/ 61 PC
Indianapolis	67/ 46 0	70/ 45 S	70/ 51 S
Jackson	74/ 52 0	77/ 60 PC	74/ 63 C
Jacksonville	74/ 66 0.11	78/ 68 PC	80/ 69 C
Kansas City	77/ 50 0	72/ 54 S	73/ 56 PC
Key West	84/ 78 0.25	83/ 76 Tr	82/ 77 R
Las Vegas	85/ 61 0	86/ 56 PC	81/ 45 PC
Lexington	66/ 43 0	70/ 45 S	71/ 51 S

Little Rock	72/ 45 0	72/ 52 S	71/ 56 PC
Los Angeles	33/ 62 0	75/ 52 PC	60/ 48 R
Louisville	68/ 45 0	72/ 46 S	73/ 53 S
Memphis	72/ 48 0	74/ 56 S	75/ 60 PC
Miami	82/ 76 0.25	83/ 78 Tr	81/ 76 R
Milwaukee	67/ 47 0	68/ 53 PC	66/ 53 S
Mpls.-St. Paul	64/ 48 0	71/ 57 S	69/ 56 PC
Nashville	70/ 45 0	73/ 49 S	76/ 55 PC
New Orleans	75/ 62 0	76/ 66 S	72/ 69 Tr
Norfolk	74/ 60 0	70/ 58 PC	69/ 60 PC
Oklahoma City	73/ 54 0	72/ 50 S	72/ 54 S
Omaha	75/ 44 0	74/ 56 S	73/ 55 W
Orlando	53/ 69 0.05	64/ 71 PC	83/ 72 C
Philadelphia	66/ 52 0	72/ 49 S	74/ 51 S
Phoenix	97/ 74 0	93/ 70 PC	72/ 51 PC
Pittsburgh	67/ 45 0	70/ 42 S	71/ 46 S
Portland, Me.	62/ 49 0	64/ 47 C	64/ 44 PC
Portland, Ore.	59/ 47 0.23	53/ 38 R	51/ 36 PC
Providence	67/ 53 0	70/ 46 S	70/ 47 S
Raleigh	72/ 52 0	73/ 55 PC	75/ 58 PC
Reno	76/ 45 0	52/ 27 W	47/ 31 C
Richmond	70/ 51 0	70/ 52 PC	73/ 53 PC
Rochester	66/ 49 0	68/ 47 S	70/ 48 S
Sacramento	80/ 54 0	64/ 41 C	60/ 41 PC
Salt Lake City	72/ 51 0	75/ 52 PC	69/ 36 Sh
San Antonio	81/ 59 Tr	80/ 55 PC	80/ 61 PC
San Diego	66/ 63 0	73/ 61 PC	65/ 58 R
San Francisco	68/ 56 0	61/ 48 S	60/ 50 W
San Jose	77/ 58 0	61/ 45 C	60/ 44 PC
San Juan	88/ 76 0.05	85/ 76 PC	86/ 76 Sh
Seattle	56/ 45 0.15	51/ 39 PC	48/ 37 PC
Sioux Falls	74/ 46 0	76/ 55 PC	72/ 56 W
Spokane	55/ 41 0.09	49/ 35 R	45/ 33 C
St. Louis	74/ 51 0	74/ 51 S	75/ 57 S
St. Thomas	82/ 77 0.11	86/ 78 PC	86/ 78 PC
Syracuse	69/ 49 0	69/ 46 PC	70/ 45 S
Tampa	66/ 72 0.05	86/ 73 PC	86/ 73 PC
Toledo	69/ 47 0	70/ 46 S	69/ 46 S
Tucson	94/ 69 0	91/ 69 PC	78/ 48 W
Tulsa	74/ 56 0	74/ 52 S	74/ 58 S
Virginia Beach	69/ 61 0	69/ 57 PC	68/ 60 PC
Washington	69/ 51 0	74/ 49 S	74/ 53 S
Wichita	77/ 46 0	69/ 54 PC	72/ 55 PC
Wilmington, Del.	65/ 50 0.01	72/ 47 S	73/ 50 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	84/ 59 0	86/ 67 PC	82/ 56 PC
Cairo	77/ 66 0	75/ 63 PC	75/ 65 PC
Cape Town	73/ 61 0.23	62/ 55 R	66/ 57 PC
Dakar	90/ 77 0	86/ 77 S	87/ 79 S
Johannesburg	70/ 55 0.38	79/ 60 PC	86/ 65 PC
Nairobi	77/ 61 0.57	76/ 60 Tr	80/ 58 PC
Tunis	75/ 59 0	74/ 57 S	75/ 59 S

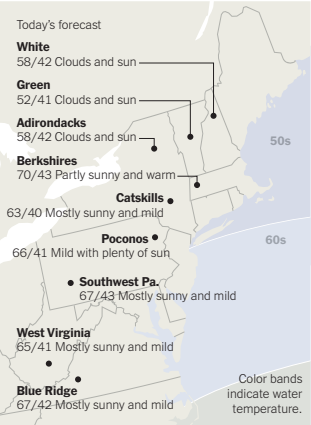
Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	84/ 66 0	84/ 59 PC	83/ 61 PC
Bangkok	90/ 76 0	90/ 78 PC	83/ 77 C
Beijing	86/ 33 0	65/ 41 PC	65/ 33 S
Damascus	68/ 54 0.09	69/ 49 PC	69/ 51 PC
Hong Kong	79/ 70 0	82/ 73 PC	83/ 72 PC
Jakarta	82/ 75 0.29	91/ 77 Tr	92/ 77 Tr
Jerusalem	62/ 57 0.45	64/ 54 PC	66/ 56 PC
Katmandu	84/ 66 0	91/ 63 PC	93/ 63 PC
Manila	88/ 78 0.06	89/ 77 Tr	89/ 77 C
Mumbai	95/ 75 0	95/ 76 PC	94/ 77 PC

New Delhi	89/ 59 0	87/ 58 PC	86/ 57 PC
Riyadh	87/ 59 0	90/ 65 PC	87/ 65 PC
Seoul	61/ 36 0	62/ 53 C	64/ 40 PC
Shanghai	69/ 55 0	77/ 59 PC	74/ 56 PC
Singapore	90/ 77 0.16	88/ 78 Tr	85/ 78 Tr
Sydney	69/ 57 1.17	67/ 56 C	67/ 57 PC
Taipei City	78/ 69 0.02	88/ 78 W	90/ 72 R
Tehran	70/ 45 0	74/ 56 PC	75/ 57 PC
Tokyo	64/ 53 0	65/ 58 PC	70/ 61 PC
Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	55/ 39 0	53/ 37 PC	56/ 43 S
Athens	70/ 58 0.05	66/ 58 PC	66/ 58 S
Berlin	52/ 36 0	54/ 40 PC	53/ 37 PC
Brussels	52/ 34 0	51/ 39 S	61/ 48 S
Budapest	56/ 44 0.05	53/ 35 PC	51/ 35 S
Copenhagen	53/ 46 0.13	57/ 48 PC	52/ 43 PC
Dublin	49/ 38 Tr	52/ 42 PC	53/ 49 C
Edinburgh	57/ 47 0	54/ 37 PC	48/ 41 PC
Frankfurt	52/ 32 0	51/ 34 S	53/ 37 S
Geneva	52/ 44 0	57/ 42 S	59/ 47 S
Helsinki	48/ 39 0.03	51/ 42 PC	50/ 37 S
Istanbul	64/ 56 0.05	62/ 53 W	61/ 55 PC
Kiev	48/ 40 0.06	47/ 43 PC	51/ 42 PC
Lisbon	65/ 52 0.17	62/ 56 R	63/ 52 PC
London	47/ 36 0.01	53/ 41 F	59/ 50 C
Madrid	57/ 48 0.52	68/ 53 R	60/ 49 Sh
Moscow	46/ 41 0.11	45/ 39 PC	49/ 43 PC
Nice	68/ 57 0	68/ 55 S	67/ 56 S
Oslo	54/ 36 0	55/ 37 PC	46/ 36 Sh
Paris	54/ 37 0	54/ 46 S	63/ 52 PC
Prague	48/ 36 0	46/ 31 PC	45/ 33 PC
Rome	68/ 53 0	69/ 50 S	68/ 50 S
St. Petersburg	47/ 43 0.10	47/ 45 PC	51/ 37 S
Stockholm	52/ 37 0	55/ 41 PC	50/ 38 S
Vienna	54/ 42 0	50/ 34 S	53/ 37 S
Warsaw	50/ 36 0	49/ 45 C	51/ 39 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	87/ 72 0	87/ 75 PC	87/ 75 C
Bermuda	75/ 68 0.02	76/ 71 PC	76/ 72 PC
Edmonton	49/ 28 0.21	32/ 22 PC	28/ 13 SS
Guadalajara	79/ 46 0	78/ 47 S	81/ 51 S
Havana	82/ 73 0.10	83/ 71 Sh	81/ 72 R
Kingston	84/ 75 0.45	83/ 77 R	83/ 77 R
Martinique	88/ 74 0.05	86/ 75 PC	86/ 75 Sh
Mexico City	72/ 41 0	72/ 47 PC	74/ 48 PC
Monterrey	81/ 53 0	80/ 57 PC	79/ 55 S
Montreal	62/ 30 0	62/ 48 C	59/ 49 C
Nassau	82/ 75 0.21	83/ 76 Sh	83/ 75 R
Panama City	84/ 76 0.17	83/ 75 Tr	84/ 75 PC
Quebec City	52/ 28 0	52/ 40 C	52/ 41 PC
Santo Domingo	87/ 71 0.01	85/ 72 Tr	85/ 72 Sh
Toronto	62/ 49 0	63/ 49 PC	66/ 45 PC
Vancouver	55/ 49 0.05	49/ 37 C	46/ 35 PC
Winnipeg	50/ 31 Tr	43/ 32 S	46/ 42 C

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	73/ 60 0	73/ 64 PC	73/ 64 S
Caracas	86/ 75 0.34	88/ 76 Tr	85/ 76 Sh
Lima	69/ 60 0	67/ 61 PC	67/ 60 S
Quito	68/ 51 0.03	69/ 51 Sh	70/ 52 Sh
Recife	86/ 79 0.02	87/ 79 PC	87/ 79 Sh
Rio de Janeiro	77/ 67 0.27	73/ 67 PC	76/ 69 PC
Santiago	79/ 48 0	85/ 53 PC	91/ 54 PC

Mountain and Ocean Temperatures



It will be dry and tranquil, with temperatures well above average. Clouds will limit sunshine in parts of northern New England and the Adirondacks. Morning fog will shroud some valleys from the Laurel Mountains to the Blue Ridge, but sunshine will dominate otherwise.

The New York Times

Cooking

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Ex-Officers in Floyd Case Will Stand Trial Together

By TIM ARANGO

In an important win for the prosecution, a judge in Minneapolis on Thursday ruled that the four officers charged in the killing of George Floyd, a Black man who took some of his last breaths under the knee of a white officer on a Minneapolis street corner in May, will stand trial together.

The judge also ruled that the news media can broadcast the trial, scheduled for next spring, an unusual move in Minneapolis, where courts are generally closed to cameras. The judge cited the coronavirus pandemic, which limits the number of people who can be in the courtroom at any time, and the immense national and international interest in the case.

“Protests demanding justice for George Floyd continue,” the

A judge also says the courtroom will be open to TV cameras.

judge, Peter A. Cahill of Hennepin County, wrote in his ruling. “It is expected that, even with some overflow courtrooms, the demand by family members, the public, and the press to attend the joint trial will outstrip the court’s ability to provide meaningful access.”

Judge Cahill also said the trial will remain — for now — in the Twin Cities, although he left open the possibility of moving it later if the court is unable to seat a jury untainted by the vast publicity the case has already generated.

The defendants, including Derek Chauvin, the white officer who pinned Mr. Floyd to the ground for more than nine minutes, had asked the court for a change of venue, arguing that they would not be able to receive a fair trial in Minneapolis because of pretrial publicity and the wide-scale protests against racial injustice Mr. Floyd’s death set off in

Minneapolis and around the country, as well as the world.

Experts following the case in Minneapolis have said they believe Judge Cahill is determined to keep the case in the Twin Cities, understanding that moving the trial would most likely provoke new protests, and fears of a less diverse jury. Such a move would have evoked the history of the Rodney King case in Los Angeles in 1992. The trial against the police officers who beat Mr. King was moved to a largely white suburb, resulting in acquittals on assault charges that led to riots.

Judge Cahill also ordered that the jurors would remain anonymous, and said they would be partly sequestered during the trial and ordered to drive each morning to a secure location, from where they would be escorted to the courtroom.

Attorney General Keith Ellison of Minnesota, whose office is overseeing the prosecution, said in a statement that he was satisfied with the court’s decision.

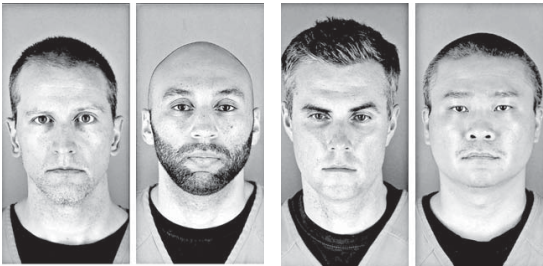
“The murder of George Floyd occurred in Minneapolis, and it is right that the defendants should be tried in Minneapolis,” he said. “It is also true that they acted in concert with each other, and the evidence against them is similar, so it is right to try them in one trial.”

Mr. Chauvin, who had been a 19-year veteran on the police force, is charged with second-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter, and faces 40 years in prison if convicted.

The other officers, including two rookies who had aided Mr. Chauvin in pinning Mr. Floyd to the pavement in front of a convenience store, are charged with aiding and abetting second-degree murder. The former officer Tou Thao, who knelt to the side and kept at bay bystanders who were yelling that Mr. Floyd was having difficulty breathing, is also charged with aiding and abetting second-degree murder. All four former officers, who were fired af-



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



HENNEPIN COUNTY SHERIFF’S OFFICE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

ter the incident, have been released on bail.

The two rookie officers, Thomas Lane and J. Alexander Kueng, were the first on the scene the evening of May 25, after a convenience store clerk called the police saying that Mr. Floyd had tried to pass off a counterfeit \$20 bill to pay for cigarettes.

From the start, Mr. Floyd, 46, was agitated, and resisted being put in the back of a squad car, say-

ing he was claustrophobic. After Mr. Chauvin arrived, Mr. Floyd was placed face down on the street, where he repeatedly said he couldn’t breathe.

As bystanders gathered, one of them captured the scene on a cell-phone camera. The video provoked weeks of protests in American cities and around the world.

A lawyer for Mr. Kueng, Thomas C. Plunkett, said that though the judge’s rulings went against

From far left, Derek Chauvin, J. Alexander Kueng, Thomas Lane and Tou Thao, the four former Minneapolis police officers charged in the killing of George Floyd, a video of which set off nationwide and worldwide protests.

their desire for a separate trial and change of venue, “we are happy to have the orders so we can start preparing for our trial and presenting the truth in front of a jury.”

Earl C. Gray, the lawyer for Mr. Lane, and Eric Nelson, the lawyer for Mr. Chauvin, declined to comment on the judge’s rulings. A lawyer for Mr. Thao did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

All four of the former officers had asked for separate trials, and suggested in court filings that they each place blame for Mr. Floyd’s death on one another. The prosecution, all along, has asked for one trial, arguing that multiple trials would traumatize Mr. Floyd’s family, eyewitnesses and the larger community, which faced weeks of unrest in the streets after Mr. Floyd’s death.

In his order for one trial, Judge Cahill noted that the defense for all four defendants centers on similar arguments: that the use of force to subdue Mr. Floyd was justified, and that Mr. Floyd’s death was caused by drugs that were found in his system and underlying health conditions.

The medical examiner has ruled Mr. Floyd’s death a homicide because of “cardiopulmonary arrest” from Mr. Chauvin’s knee, with other causes considered contributing factors.

Police Chat Board Yields Clues of Racism by High-Ranking Official

From Page A1

was relieved of his command of the Equal Employment Opportunity Division and placed on modified assignment pending completion of the department inquiry.

“This is abhorrent behavior,” Richard Esposito, deputy commissioner of public information, said about the messages. “Whoever wrote these posts has stained the reputation of the Police Department and its tens of thousands of honorable officers and civilians.”

Mr. Esposito noted that the investigation, which began three weeks ago, had not yet been completed and that substantial work remained to be done. But he said

Vitriolic online messages under the name ‘Clouseau’ spark an inquiry.

“the evidence at this stage points at the police executive,” referring to Inspector Kobel.

“Deputy Inspector Kobel has cooperated with the investigation,” he said, “but given the nature of the allegations and the sensitivity of his assignment, the decision has been made to remove him while the investigation proceeds.”

At the outset of the Internal Affairs inquiry, Inspector Kobel voluntarily provided investigators with his personal cellphone and computer, and they viewed the postings as not in keeping with his public persona and reputation, the police official said. The official spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss an open investigation.

That assessment echoed the appraisals of several current and former co-workers, who said in interviews with The Times that the inspector was quiet, low-key and strait-laced.

Police investigators considered the possibility that Inspector Kobel had been framed by someone who had purposely peppered the posts with details about his life — many, if not most, of which could be found through research on the internet.

But the inquiry turned up more evidence that pointed to Inspector Kobel, the police official said, including an email on his personal computer from the Rant message board that acknowledged his screen name was “Clouseau.”

Police investigators also found on his personal cellphone a copy of the digital photo the anonymous writer used on the message



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ritchie Torres, a City Council member, oversaw an investigation into racist rants posted on a chat board used by police officers. He said he was confident the posts were by Deputy Inspector James F. Kobel, left, who has denied it.

cause the commonalities were “too coincidental to be a coincidence.”

The head of the Captains Endowment Association, the union that represents Inspector Kobel, defended him in a statement, calling him “a dedicated professional” and suggesting that he had been framed by someone unhappy with the outcome of one of the thousands of internal harassment investigations he had conducted in recent years.

“Clearly, he has angered some people along the way,” said the union leader, Capt. Chris Monahan. “In any event, he looks forward to being fully exonerated when all the facts come out.”

The council’s interest in “Clouseau” began this summer, he said, when an investigator on Mr. Torres’s staff was casually scrolling through the Rant after seeing it mentioned in New York Magazine.

The posts by “Clouseau” caught the investigator’s attention because they were filled with “shocking invective,” Mr. Torres said. “Clouseau” had also publicly

revealed substantial biographical details about himself, leaving a trail for the investigator to follow.

On July 1, 2019, for example, “Clouseau” left a message describing how he had joined the Police Department on June 30, 1992, recalling it as an “unbelievably hot” night. Using city payroll records, the investigator determined that Inspector Kobel had joined the force on that date.

In January, “Clouseau” wrote that he had once worked “in Housing” under “JJ,” whom he referred to with an obscene slur for women. According to Inspector Kobel’s LinkedIn page, he too served in the department’s Housing Bureau — from 2012 to 2014 at a time when it run by a female chief, Joanne Jaffe.

There was more.

On Oct. 29, 2019, “Clouseau” left a long post on the Rant recalling in detail how he had proposed to his wife on Dec. 10, 2005. Mr. Torres’s investigator later found a gossip article from The New York Post, dated Dec. 15, 2005, offering congratulations to a woman on her engagement to “Jimmy Kobel.”

Tracking down a Facebook page for the woman, the investigator determined that she was in fact married to Inspector Kobel. Property records showed that the couple owned a home together on Long Island.

In yet another connection, “Clouseau” once posted on the Rant that his mother died on Feb. 21, 2019, “after suffering for a few years from dementia.”

The investigators tracked down an obituary for Inspector Kobel’s mother, Elizabeth Frances Kobel, who died on the same date. The obituary asked that donations be made in Ms. Kobel’s memory to the Long Island Alzheimer’s Foundation.

The Times has independently verified these and other connections.

Mr. Torres, an Afro-Latino Democrat from the Bronx who won a seat in Congress on Tuesday, prepared his report at a highly charged moment, when people across the country were questioning how the police have traditionally dealt with Black and Hispanic communities.

Since the death of George Floyd this spring at the hands of the police in Minneapolis, hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers have taken to the streets to protest police brutality and what they have described as the systemic racism inside the department in New York.

Mr. Torres, who is openly gay, has also been on the receiving end of personal attacks from some leaders of the city’s police unions.

The report, which was documented by extensive footnotes and included a 26-page appendix of supporting materials, describes a series of posts by “Clouseau” reaching back to at least summer 2019.

In one, the writer called Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, a Somali-American Democrat, a “filthy animal.” Another post labeled Dante de Blasio, the Black son of Mayor Bill de Blasio, as a “brillohead.”

White liberals have also provoked outbursts from “Clouseau.”

When City Council Speaker Corey Johnson, who is white and gay, demanded an investigation into the department’s use of pedestrian stops, “Clouseau” wrote, “Perhaps we should all take a step back from Stop, Question, and Maybe Frisk, until dear old Corey ends up the victim of a crime in one of the local bathhouses.”

Inspector Kobel, reached by text message and given a second opportunity to respond to the report, once again denied being “Clouseau.”

“Nonetheless, despite my denial, it will likely end my career,” he wrote. “Where do I go to get my reputation back?”

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Thursday about the Democrats’ inability to gain a majority in the Senate misstated the length of time Joseph R. Biden served in the Senate. He was a senator for more than 35 years, not 45.

ELECTION 2020

An article on Thursday about disinformation targeting Latinos misstated whom QAnon adherents falsely believe is part of a global cabal. It is Joseph R. Biden Jr., not President Trump. (They believe, also falsely, that the president is battling such a cabal.)

An article on Thursday about lawsuits pursued by President Trump in states that he lost in the election misidentified one of the Supreme Court justices who signaled an openness to reconsidering an extension of Pennsylvania’s deadline for counting ballots. Justice Neil M. Gorsuch was one of the three justices taking that position, not Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh.

NATIONAL

An article on Sunday about President Trump’s first-term promises misstated the affiliation of the Tax Policy Center. It is a joint partnership between the Brookings Institution and the Urban Institute, it is not run by the Brookings Institution.

OBITUARIES

A selection of photographs with an obituary on Oct. 24 about the British publisher Tom Maschler was published in error. The photographs were of American editions of three books — not the British versions published by Mr. Maschler’s company, Jonathan Cape. The obituary also referred incorrectly to the pop-up book “The Human Body,” which Jonathan Cape published in 1983. It was not among the first such books; pop-up books had a long history by then.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

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JAMELLE BOUIE

A Repudiation That Never Came



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE LIBERAL HOPE for the 2020 presidential election was a decisive repudiation of Donald Trump and the Republican Party. This is no longer on the table. A Joe Biden win, if it happens, will be as narrow an Electoral College win as Trump’s was in 2016. Biden has won the national popular vote — which matters for popular legitimacy, even if it doesn’t weigh on the outcome — but Trump outperformed his job approval, winning more total votes than any Republican presidential nominee in history.

In spite of everything, the president expanded his support, most likely saving the Republican Senate majority in the process. A Trump loss is still possible — perhaps even probable, since Biden holds a lead in states totaling 270 electoral votes — but there’s every reason to think Trumpism will survive as a viable strategy for winning national elections.

And what is Trumpism? It is a performance, or rather, a series of performances.

It is a performance of nationalism, one that triangulates between open chauvinism in favor of the dominant ethnic group and narrow appeals to inclusion, with the promise of material gain for anyone who joins his coalition. It is a performance, on the same score, of success, projecting an image of wealth and power, and urging the public to embrace it as its own — a version of “The Apprentice” in which the contestants are the American people. It is also the performance of an aggressive and aggrieved masculinity centered on the bullying and domination of others.

Even without policy to match the populist persona — the Trump administration has been as generous to the wealthy and connected as it has been stingy with the poor and the working class — Trumpism appeals to tens of millions of voters, from the large majority of white Americans to many people in traditionally Democratic constituencies.

That, if anything, is the surprise of this election. Although it is still too early to make any definitive statement about the shape of the electorate (broad white support for Trump notwithstanding), it is clear that the president made modest inroads with Black and Hispanic voters, especially men. This is most apparent in the states of Florida, Georgia and Texas, where Trump outperformed his 2016 totals in several areas where Hispanic voters make up a majority.

We don’t yet know why Trump made those gains — although the aforementioned performances, which figured prominently in his outreach to those groups, may have something to do with it

— but this shift is a useful reminder that politics does not move along a linear path. For all of our data, the political world is still a fundamentally unpredictable place.

A decade ago, for example, Democrats believed that demographic change — the shift from a “majority white” country to a “majority minority” one — would give the party an almost unbreakable lock on national politics; that a growing population of Asian and Hispanic Americans would inevitably redound to liberal benefit. At the time, I wrote that this was unlikely, that while it was a seductive theory, there was not much evidence to support the vision of an enduring Democratic majority. Racial and ethnic identity, I argued, were too fluid, and there was no guarantee that future members of those groups would think of themselves as “minorities” in the way that has been historically true of Black Americans. Changing conditions — greater assimilation and upward mobility — could make them as volatile in partisan politics as European ethnic groups were in the 20th century.

If the Hispanic shift is as large as it appears to be, then we are living in that reality. What I didn’t expect is that it would come heralded by a Republican like Trump. But this only speaks to the diversity, ideological and otherwise, of the Hispanic electorate, which is as varied in racial background and national origin as

most other groups of Americans. To extend an earlier analogy, it is probably as useful to speak of “Hispanics” in 2020 as it was to speak of “Europeans” in 1950. The category is just too broad, obscuring (in electoral politics, at least) far more than it illuminates.

Again, it is too early to say that there’s been a permanent realignment, although some trends — like the rising partisan significance of gender and education — are clear. It’s true, though, that the possibilities for change and transformation are wide open. Perhaps a future Republican, one with the same or similar fame and charisma, will build a real majority from the foundation laid over the past four years. Perhaps a future Democrat will turn the party’s consistent voting majority into a greater share of electoral votes and congressional seats. Perhaps we will see neither and are in for another decade of fierce partisan competition between two equal and evenly matched sides.

The 2020 election, in other words, will have an outcome. But it won’t be conclusive. It will be an uncertain result for an uncertain time in American life. Political trench warfare will continue. Total victory, whether in politics or anywhere else, is not on the immediate horizon. The future remains unwritten and is perhaps even more unknowable than before. □



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL KRUGMAN

Is America Becoming a Failed State?

AS I WRITE THIS, it seems extremely likely that Joe Biden has won the presidency. And he clearly received millions more votes than his opponent. He can and should claim that he has been given a strong mandate to govern the nation.

But there are real questions about whether he will, in fact, be able to govern. At the moment, it seems likely that the Senate — which is wildly unrepresentative of the American people — will remain in the hands of an extremist party that will sabotage Biden in every way it can.

Before I get into the problems this confrontation is likely to cause, let’s talk about just how unrepresentative the Senate is.

Every state, of course, has two senators — which means that Wyoming’s 579,000 residents have as much weight as California’s 39 million. The over-weighted states tend to be much less urbanized than the nation as a whole. And given the growing political divide between metropolitan and rural areas, this gives the Senate a strong rightward tilt.

An analysis by the website FiveThirtyEight.com found that the Senate in ef-

fect represents an electorate almost seven percentage points more Republican than the average voter. Cases like Susan Collins, who held on in a Democratic state, are exceptions; the underlying right-wing skew of the Senate is the main reason the G.O.P. will probably retain control despite a substantial Democratic victory in the presidential popular vote.

But, you may ask, why is divided control of government such a problem? After all, Republicans controlled one or both chambers of Congress for three-quarters of Barack Obama’s presidency, and we survived, didn’t we?

Yes, but.

In fact, G.O.P. obstruction did a lot of damage even during the Obama years. Republicans used hardball tactics, including threats to cause a default on the national debt, to force a premature withdrawal of fiscal support that slowed the pace of economic recovery. I’ve estimated that without this de facto sabotage, the unemployment rate in 2014 might have been about two percentage points lower than it actually was.

And the need for more spending is even more acute now than it was in 2011,

when Republicans took control of the House.

Most immediately, the coronavirus is running wild, with new cases exceeding 100,000 a day and rising rapidly. This is going to hit the economy hard, even if state and local governments don’t impose new lockdowns.

We desperately need a new round of federal spending on health care, aid to the unemployed and businesses, and

Mitch McConnell may make the nation ungovernable.

support for strapped state and local governments. Reasonable estimates suggest that we should spend \$200 billion or more each month until a vaccine brings the pandemic to an end. I’d be shocked if a Senate still controlled by Mitch McConnell would agree to anything like this.

Even after the pandemic is over, we’re likely to face both persistent economic

weakness and a desperate need for more public investment. But McConnell effectively blocked infrastructure spending even with Donald Trump in the White House. Why would he become more amenable with Biden in office?

Now, spending isn’t the only form of policy. Normally, there are many things a president can achieve for good (Obama) or evil (Trump) through executive action. In fact, during the summer a Democratic task force identified hundreds of things a President Biden could do without having to go through Congress.

But here’s where I worry about the role of a heavily partisan Supreme Court — a court shaped by McConnell’s norm-breaking behavior, including the rushed confirmation of Amy Coney Barrett just days before the election.

Six of nine justices were chosen by a party that has won the popular vote only once in the past eight elections. And I think there’s a substantial chance that this court may behave like the Supreme Court in the 1930s, which kept blocking New Deal programs until F.D.R. threatened to add seats — something Biden wouldn’t be able to do with a Republican-

than expected, and that disappoints me. And on Wednesday the number of new coronavirus cases solidly passed the 100,000 mark, in great part because so many of our fellow citizens simply refuse to wear a mask.

At the same time, I have seen friends and family participate in the electoral process by donating money, canvassing, volunteering as poll site observers, placing calls, and/or writing text messages and letters.

I have seen on CNN the dedication of government employees and volunteers spending endless hours performing to the best of their ability the critical and numbingly boring task of collecting and counting ballots. This is happening all over the country, in red states as well as blue states, embodying the American ideal of democracy.

So as I have discovered with disappointment and sadness the extent of narrow-minded prejudice, selfishness and generally crude behavior among our fellow citizens, I remain in love with this, my adoptive country.

A grateful French immigrant.
CLAUDE VIDAL, LOS ANGELES

LETTERS

Waiting for a President: American Voices

TO THE EDITOR:

This feels like a moment to take a breath. While the indicators point to a win for Joe Biden, it does not seem like a time to celebrate. On Wednesday, the nation topped 100,000 new coronavirus cases. To say that the president has done nothing to curb the virus gives him too much credit. With misinformation and with large mask-free rallies he has actively spread it.

The anticipated blue wave did not take place. The outcome of the Senate races will likely slow much-needed progress on health care, economic relief and the environment. The Roberts court looks to be even more regressive today.

We have, however, become a more activist nation. Beginning with the Women’s March early in the president’s term to the highest percentage of voter turnout in over a century, the president has unwittingly led us to a much-needed civics course.

The next weeks and months will be chaotic. We can only hope that they begin a healing of the deep divisions in our country.

ELLIOTT MILLER, BALA CYNWYD, PA.

TO THE EDITOR:

As I hopefully and tremblingly await a confirmed victory for Joe Biden, I am aghast at the fact that, in spite of more than 230,000 dead from coronavirus in the United States, hundreds of Mexican and Central American children whose parents cannot be found, countless expressions of bigotry and disunity, and numerous pernicious policies, our current president was still able to garner more than 68 million votes.

This contributes to the “aha” moment many are experiencing concerning the current disunity in our country. It also seems possible that, were it not for the coronavirus debacle, President Trump might well have swept this election — a sobering thought.

SHEILA TURKEN
HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR:

Republican leaders in Congress and the Trump administration: Now is your chance. For the first time in Donald Trump’s tenure as president, this moment is not and should not be about him. It is about you. With these frivolous lawsuits on vote counts, he is making your party look juvenile, self-serving, corrupt and un-American.

Who among you will stand up? Your moment is here: This could be your chance to move beyond him, look like honest-to-gosh patriots, and, if Joe Biden becomes president, get on to the business of obstructing him and the Democrats for the next four years.

You might just save the G.O.P. by doing so.

ANDY CALKINS, GLOUCESTER, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

I wonder how President Trump explains the way ballot malfeasance affected his tallies and not those of down-ballot Republicans.

ABBY DE RIEL, PRINCETON, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

As I write, it is not certain that Joe Biden has beaten Donald Trump and, if he has, that his victory will stand if it goes to a Supreme Court packed with right-wing doctrinaires. What is clear is that the G.O.P. has obtained better results in both the House and the Senate

TO THE EDITOR:

I am a minority blue in a red state. I believe in equity, justice, education, opportunity.

But after this election, my irritation with the Democratic Party and its focus on identity politics has finally pushed me to the point where, after 55 years as a registered Democrat, I will become an independent.

While I am disgusted with President Trump and the hypocrisy and sycophancy of the Republicans, I am almost equally disgusted by what Democrats fail to recognize: Your definition of my identity and my issues may not be my definition.

MARY ANN STERNBERG
BATON ROUGE, LA.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Questions Mount, Again, After Pollsters Overestimated Democratic Strength” (news article, Nov. 5):

Patrick Murray, a pollster, explains the gap between Democrats’ poll numbers and the election results by saying it’s possible that Republicans’ efforts to prevent certain populations from voting easily had a sizable impact. You think?

Yes, Mr. Murray, it’s just possible that purging hundreds of thousands of people from voter rolls; closing polling places in heavily Democratic areas, forcing them to stand in line for hours or vote by mail; making mail-in voting so tricky that ballots are tossed out on technicalities; sabotaging the Postal Service to delay ballot delivery; and then claiming that mail-in votes shouldn’t be counted just *might* create a gap between the number of Americans who planned to vote for Democrats, and those who were able to do so.

Perhaps if everyone could vote, the polls might be more accurate.

PENELOPE KRAMER
EL CERRITO, CALIF.

TO THE EDITOR:

It is hardly surprising that the presidential polling so underestimated President Trump’s strength. If I were voting for him, I would be ashamed to admit it, too.

LEONARD GORDY
SOUTH ORANGE, N.J.

DAVID BROOKS

What Voters Are Trying To Tell Us

YUP, I WANTED A grand rebuke, too. I wanted Trump demolished by 10 points. But elections are educational events. Voters are not always wise, but they are usually comprehensible. They know more about their own lives than we in our information bubbles do, and they almost always tell us something important.

The first thing we heard from most Americans — since Joe Biden’s popular vote victory seems all but certain — is that Donald Trump is unacceptable. We live in a divided, dug-in nation, but millions more white evangelicals voted Democratic in 2020 than in 2016. Many people voted against partisan predilections to remove a man who is a unique menace to the foundations of this country. That is no meager accomplishment.

The second thing voters told us is this: Separate church and state. We’ve long had political polarization in this country and we still will. But over the last few years polarization has transmogrified into something worse: a religious war.

Trumpism and Wokeism are not equivalent phenomena, but they both serve as secular religions for their disciples. They offer a binary logic of good and evil, a cultlike membership experience, apocalyptic or utopian visions, witch trials for the excommunication of the impure and the sense of personal meaning that comes while fighting a holy war.

In different ways, voters told the two parties that they’d like our politics to be about practical issues. If you want a religious war, go have it somewhere else.

They told Republicans, for example, that you will be much stronger without the MAGA craziness. The Republican Party had a much better election than Trump. While Trump is losing, Republicans have picked up six House seats so far. The Democrats have yet to flip a single state legislature, meaning Republicans will draw the district lines for the next 10 years of electioneering.

The image of a possible future G.O.P. emerged — a multiracial working-class party. Republicans made surprising gains among Latinos, African-Americans and Muslims. Trump won the largest share of the nonwhite vote of any Republican candidate in 60 years. That wasn’t done by Trumpian race-baiting but because of the party’s reputation for championing personal agency and personal responsibility, and for boosting small businesses and economic growth. That can be built on.

Meanwhile, voters told Democrats that they, too, would benefit if they played up policy and played down cultural concerns of their Portlandia/graduate-schooled/defund-the-police wing.

If there was ever going to be a Democratic blowout election, this was it — against an immoral candidate with a criminally incompetent record. But Democrats failed to pull it off.

It’s not policies that cost Democrats. The core Biden policies are astoundingly popular. It’s that they’ve built a cultural blue wall that keeps the other half of the country out, no matter the circumstance.

They’ve done it by telling a certain sort of story. American politics, progressives commonly say, is all about the historical shift from homogeneity to diversity.

The electorate isn’t always wise, but it has something important to say.

They see America as divided between those enlightened cosmopolitans (Democrats) who welcome the coming diverse postindustrial world and those knuckle-dragging, racist troglodytes (Republicans) who don’t.

The first problem with this narrative is that it is perpetually surprised by events. Election after election, the emerging Democratic majority fails to emerge. The second problem is that it oversimplifies the different processes going on in America. Somehow, we have to have the racial reckoning, which is essential, while we understand the other mega-narratives people feel are driving their lives. Third, it’s just astonishingly smug, self-congratulatory and off-putting.

The voters have handed us a political system that will be led, probably, by Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi and Mitch McConnell. These are not culture warriors. They are politicians and legislators.

We now have two parties whose best version of themselves is as working-class parties. Maybe the next few years can be a partisan competition over who is best for Americans without college degrees.

Would divided government devolve into gridlock? Maybe. McConnell will do whatever is in the G.O.P.’s best interests in 2022. But I’m not so sure. America is bitterly divided on cultural matters, but it is getting less divided over economic policy. Populism has weakened the G.O.P.’s anti-government wing and opened senators like Marco Rubio, Josh Hawley, Tom Cotton and others to ideas that call for more federal involvement in industry. For some that includes worker training, for others, an infrastructure bank, wage subsidies or R&D industrial policy.

The voters reminded us yet again that the other side is not going away. We have to dispense with the fantasy that after the next miracle election our side will suddenly get everything it wants. We have to live with one another.

The key is loosening the grip the culture war has had on our politics and governance. Let’s fight our moral difference with books, sermons, movies and marches, not with political coercion. □



OLIVIA LOCHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Our Voting Rules, Different in Every State

Charlotte Hill and Lee Drutman

DESPITE high turnout, the 2020 election is already proving to be a mess — buried in litigation, and plagued by disinformation led by the president himself that spreads through toxic partisanship.

Though the pandemic and this erratic president are stress-testing our election system like never before in recent memory, the obstacles to holding a free and fair vote in America have been mounting for decades. Since the early 2000s, court battles over election rules have become constant.

No matter who ends up prevailing this year, it is clear that Congress needs to establish a federal elections agency to ensure that the voting process is fair, consistent, secure and legitimate — from redistricting to registration to voting technology.

Would this be constitutional? In short, absolutely: Article I, Section 4 of the Constitution explicitly gives Congress broad powers to “make or alter” regulations affecting elections.

Current federal regulators — the Election Assistance Commission, which disperses funding to states and makes administration and security recommendations, and the Federal Election Commission, which oversees campaign finance laws — are woefully insufficient.

We often talk about elections as if voters across the country are participating in a single event. But the reality is that states and counties — and the partisan politicians who run them — largely make their own rules about ease of voting, ballots and district lines.

The overall result is that some people must work much harder to exercise their basic right to vote — and even then, their ballot may be less potent than others.

Take rules around registration and voting. Some states and cities automatically register voters and proactively mail them their ballots. Other states require people to register weeks before the election and, unless they have a valid excuse for voting absentee, to show up in person at the polls, where they may face

long lines, poorly trained poll workers and unreliable equipment — and this year chance becoming infected with a lethal virus that thrives in crowded indoor environments.

If you live in a gerrymandered or lopsided district, your vote might matter less. In most states, partisan lawmakers decide how to draw district lines — carefully engineered to maintain their power, even if a majority of voters prefers the other party.

In the worst cases, politicians take advantage of the lack of federal election standards to disproportionately purge minority voters from the registration rolls, or invalidate their ballots because of minor technicalities at higher rates.

Despite these problems, the United States lacks a functioning national regulatory body empowered to administer and enforce election laws. The Election Assistance Commission is set up to be bipartisan, with an even number of commissioners from both parties.

Unfortunately, this bipartisan balance has meant deadlock. The commissioners can’t even agree how to handle foreign interference: One Republican commissioner even stated that reports of Russian election meddling are “deceptive propaganda perpetrated on the American public.”

Partisanship isn’t the only issue. The commission has been plagued in recent years with unfilled appointments, reduced staff and budget cuts.

Democrats have proposed democracy reform legislation that would establish new standards for voting access, integrity and security. This bill could be transformative, but doesn’t go far enough when it comes to making those standards a reality.

A federal elections agency could help oversee and administer the standards for voting access, legislative decisions on redistricting and election security. It could use formal orders, fines, lawsuits and even criminal enforcement actions to make sure that political campaigns are conducted with integrity, elections are not marred by fraud or interference and lawmakers are penalized for trying to rig the system.

It could use new, safe technologies to

modernize and streamline our elections, while consolidating and securing important data. It could also help test secure election technology, such as the “unhackable” open-source voting system being developed by the Department of Defense. Unlike current election software that is bought from private companies and shielded from public inspection, this system will run publicly available computer code that election security experts can scrutinize for issues.

A federal elections agency could also better take on certain administrative functions that are now carried out by the states: for example, the creation of a national voter roll, with all eligible citizens automatically registered to vote. This would bring our registration system up to the standards of most other advanced democracies — and simultaneously

A federal elections agency could ensure fairness everywhere.

make it easier for intelligence officials to detect security breaches.

The agency could also regulate the distribution of false or misleading information about federal elections.

The agency would not stop at setting federal standards; it would also enforce them. That means ensuring that congressional redistricting is truly fair for all voters by reviewing district maps and, if they do not meet standards, require that new maps be drawn. And that means monitoring elections to ensure they’re free and fair, including with an “election forensics” team that can determine whether fraud, interference or suppression tipped the balance in a given race.

Some critics of this proposal may say this agency is nothing more than a federal power grab — state and local administrators are perfectly capable of doing their jobs without interference from Washington. And yes, many talented and highly capable election administrators have done heroic work this year under

nearly impossible circumstances.

But a new agency should support them, ensuring they have the resources they need to succeed. And frankly, partisan state legislatures, governors and secretaries of state are often the ones who make their jobs harder.

Critics could also point out that this elections agency could be used for partisan advantage. That’s why the agency must have a strong mandate, based on widely supported principles of democratic fairness, as well as an empowered inspector general to monitor any potential abuses of that power.

We propose an extensive vetting process for agency appointees: a bipartisan, blue-ribbon commission could put forth a short list of names and nominees would be confirmed by the House of Representatives — a more broadly representative body than the Senate.

Appointees would have to abide by a robust conflict-of-interest policy, as well as a legally binding pledge of allegiance to the integrity of the voting process and the public interest. Taken together, these structural safeguards make us optimistic that the agency would serve its intended purpose.

No agency is perfect. But as with any change, the test should not be to compare it to some idealized standard of perfection but, rather, against the status quo. Our patchwork system empowers partisans to shape the rules, increases the chances of foreign hackers finding a weak link in the chain and leads to inconsistencies that fuel litigation, conspiracy theories and confusion.

Naturally, this proposed federal elections agency has no chance of happening unless Democrats manage to narrowly retake the Senate. But if a fair, secure and straightforward election system is the foundation of a functioning democracy, we need to invest in it — as soon as feasibly possible. □

CHARLOTTE HILL, a board member of Fair-Vote and RepresentUs, is a Ph.D. candidate in public policy at the University of California, Berkeley. **LEE DRUTMAN**, a senior fellow at New America, is the author of “Breaking the Two-Party Doom Loop: The Case for Multiparty Democracy in America.”

The Courts Won’t Decide the Election

Richard H. Pildes

THIS is the moment in a close election, with close states, we knew would arrive. Even before

Tuesday, this was already the most litigated election in history. It was inevitable, then, that tight margins in potentially decisive states would spawn a flurry of postelection lawsuits as well.

With delayed outcomes, the Trump campaign is pursuing legal action in several states (as well as a recount request in Wisconsin). I had hoped that we could avoid this situation and get to a final count quickly with simple measures: voting in person, processing absentee ballots early. But now that we are here, it is better that these battles over ballots play out in the courts than in the streets.

We have been told, rightly, to be patient and let election administrators do their job. That same steady calm is needed now as some of the contest shifts to the courts.

Some of these suits are best understood as reflecting the Trump campaign’s own disorganization. Indeed, coming from the campaign that appears behind, they are a sign of Mr. Trump’s weakness. The bottom line is that the suits filed so far are highly unlikely to affect the overall outcome of the election.

The law entitles campaigns to pursue recounts, if outcomes fall within certain margins, even if they are likely to be fruitless. Desperate campaigns are free to throw Hail Mary legal passes. But in court, claims have to be proved with facts.

States processed tens of millions of absentee ballots before Election Day, for example, and the Trump campaign did little to challenge that process. Only now — in the new Michigan lawsuit, for example — has the campaign decided to

Judges will see that the winner should be chosen by the voters.

take legal moves against a process that began, in large counties, 10 hours before Election Day. Courts are not inclined to direct that counts start over from scratch. Suits brought this late are self-undermining.

And that’s exactly what the courts have been signaling. In the last weeks before Election Day, the Trump campaign did indeed bring a flurry of lawsuits; state and federal courts rejected an overwhelming majority of them. Already, some post-election Trump cam-

paign complaints have been dismissed. None of the recently sprouted suits is the kind that is likely to lead to thousands of ballots being thrown out.

The case that is most plausible revives pre-election cases arguing that Pennsylvania acted illegally in permitting absentee ballots to be received up to three days after Election Day. But to affect the election’s outcome, the number of ballots involved would need to be considerably greater than the final margin (not all these votes would be for one candidate).

That seems unlikely, given how early so many Biden supporters in Pennsylvania returned their absentee ballots (by Election Day, Democrats had returned 84 percent of the absentee ballots they requested, higher than the normal return rate of 80 percent).

But even in the improbable event that the number of ballots is large enough to determine Pennsylvania’s winner, the Supreme Court was asked twice before the election to rule that three-day extended window illegal. The court declined to stop the extension in advance, in a 4-to-4 vote, and then refused to hear the case before the election.

The court having led voters to believe they could mail back their ballots in confidence if they were received up to three days after the election, it would be stunning for the justices to turn around now and declare, in essence: “We misled you.

Those votes are not valid.” The court might, for instance, decide that the state court acted beyond its authority, but still conclude that the ruling applies prospectively, not retroactively to invalidate ballots already cast.

It is hard to know the true motivation behind these new lawsuits. They could be all sound and fury, an effort to appease the president and his troops, demonstrating that the campaign is fighting to the last dawn. On the other hand, they may be less about their individual claims, or about winning in court, and more the start of a plan to attempt to sow confusion, to generate a sense of chaos, to undermine the perceived integrity of the vote — even to set up later tactics.

My guess is that courts will make quick work of these new cases. At the time of the 2000 election, only half of registered voters believed it “really mattered” which candidate won the election. Today, 83 percent have that conviction. Few judges are going to believe it is good for the country or the courts for this election to be decided by anyone other than the voters. □

RICHARD H. PILDES is a professor at New York University’s law school and an author of the casebook “The Law of Democracy: Legal Structure of the Political Process.”

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Business

The New York Times



Donald J. Trump

@realDonaldTrump · Nov 4

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Some or all of the content shared in this Tweet is disputed and might be misleading about an election or other civic process.

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Votes are being counted. The winner of the 2020 US Presidential Election has not been projected.

See Election Updates



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We have claimed, for Electoral Vote purposes, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (which won't allow legal observers) the State of Georgia, and the State of North Carolina, each one of which has a BIG Trump lead. Additionally, we hereby claim the State of Michigan if, in fact,.....

Official sources may not have called the race when this was Tweeted

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27m · 🌐

ANY VOTE THAT CAME IN AFTER ELECTION DAY WILL NOT BE COUNTED!



Final results may be different from the initial vote counts, as ballot counting will continue for days or weeks after polls close.

Source: Bipartisan Policy Center

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Votes Are Being Counted

The winner of the 2020 US Presidential Election has not been projected yet. See the latest vote counts and know what to expect as the process continues. See Latest Election Updates

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The rise and fall of Stop the Steal, a Facebook group that tried to delegitimize the election.

By SHEERA FRENKEL

OAKLAND, CALIF. — The first post in the new Facebook group that was started on Wednesday was innocuous enough. “Welcome” to Stop the Steal, it said. But an hour later, the group uploaded a minute-long video to its Facebook page with a pointed message. The grainy footage showed a crowd outside a polling station in Detroit, shouting and chanting “stop the count.” Below the video, which was quickly shared nearly 2,000 times, members of the group commented “Biden is stealing the vote” and “this is unfair.” The viral video helped turn the Stop the Steal Facebook group into one of the fastest-growing groups in Facebook’s his-

tory. By Thursday morning, less than 22 hours after it was started, it had amassed more than 320,000 users — at one point gaining 100 new members every 10 seconds. As its momentum grew, it caught the attention of Facebook executives, who shut down the group hours later for trying to incite violence. Even so, the Stop the Steal Facebook group had done its work. In its brief life span, it became a hub for people to falsely claim that the ballot count for the presidential election was being manipulated against President Trump. New photographs, videos and testimonials asserting voter fraud were posted to the group every few minutes. From there, CONTINUED ON PAGE B8

In this election, Facebook and Twitter did better by hobbling their own products.

Kevin Roose
THE SHIFT

That gust of wind you felt coming from Silicon Valley on Wednesday morning was the social media industry’s tentative sigh of relief. For the last four years, executives at Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other social media companies have been obsessed with a single, overarching goal: to avoid being blamed for wrecking the 2020 U.S. election, as they were in 2016, when Russian trolls and disinformation peddlers ran roughshod over their defenses. So they wrote new rules. They built new products and hired new people. They conducted elaborate tabletop drills to plan for every possible election outcome. And on Election Day, they charged huge, around-the-clock teams with batting down hoaxes and false claims. So far, it appears those efforts have averted the worst. Despite the frantic (and utterly predictable) attempts from President Trump and his allies to undermine the legitimacy of the vote in the states where he is losing, there have been no major foreign interference campaigns unearthed this week, and Election Day itself was relatively quiet. CONTINUED ON PAGE B8

\$26 Billion Settlement Bid In Opioid Suits Has Support

By JAN HOFFMAN

The three major drug distributors and a large drug manufacturer are closing in on a \$26 billion deal with state and local governments that would end thousands of lawsuits over the companies’ role in the opioid epidemic, according to people close to the negotiations and new company filings. The deal is \$4 billion more than an offer made a year ago, that was rejected by many states and municipalities. A major difference in the latest offer is \$2 billion earmarked for private lawyers who represent cities, counties, and some states. If the deal is finalized, four of the most prominent defendants in the behemoth, nationwide litigation — McKesson, Cardinal Health, AmerisourceBergen and Johnson & Johnson — would no

longer be at risk from future opioid lawsuits by these governments. Other drug manufacturers and the national pharmacy chains are still facing thousands of such cases. Most of the money from the settlement deal is intended to help pay for treatment and prevention programs in communities ravaged by addiction and overdoses. From 1999 through 2018, 232,000 Americans died from overdoses of prescription opioids, according to the latest numbers from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Addiction to the painkillers also triggered an epidemic of abuse of illegal opioids like heroin, contributing to an avalanche of deaths, crime and soaring health care costs. Litigation over the drug industry’s responsibility has been bitter. CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

The McKesson Corporation, based in San Francisco, would pay \$8 billion.

Fox News Meets Claims Of Fraud With Skepticism

By TIFFANY HSU
and JOHN KOBLIN

Nearly a decade ago, Donald J. Trump had a regular Monday slot on the Fox News morning show “Fox & Friends,” and it has been a reliably friendly venue for him throughout his presidency. But more recently, the show has been cool to his unsubstantiated claims of widespread vote fraud. On Thursday’s episode, the co-host Steve Doocy challenged Pam Bondi, a former attorney general of Florida and a Trump supporter, over her comment about “fake ballots that are coming in late.” “Pam, did you just say fake ballots?” Mr. Doocy asked. “There could be. That’s the problem,” Ms. Bondi replied. “Have you heard stories of ballots that are fake?” Mr. Doocy pushed back. “And if so, just tell us

what you know.” Ms. Bondi did not cite specific examples, instead saying, “We know that ballots have been dumped.” The night before on Fox News, the star opinion hosts Tucker Carlson and Sean Hannity spoke ominously about the vote results — but stopped short of endorsing President Trump’s dismissal of the election as “a fraud on the American public.” Mr. Hannity expressed his doubts about the vote in a series of questions: “Do you trust what happened in this election? Do you believe these election results are accurate? Do you believe this was a free and fair election? I have a lot of questions.” Laura Ingraham, who was in the White House’s East Room early on Wednesday when the CONTINUED ON PAGE B6

The Digest

LEGAL

U.S. Sues Visa Over Its Plaid Deal

Visa's planned \$5.3 billion acquisition of the financial technology firm Plaid would give the company an unfairly tight hold on the online debit transactions market, the Justice Department said in a lawsuit on Thursday.

Visa announced plans in January to buy Plaid, which helps consumers connect their bank accounts to thousands of financial apps, including the popular payment system Venmo and banking and investment services like Betterment and Chime.

In a complaint filed in federal court in San Francisco, the Justice Department said the deal would “eliminate a nascent competitive threat” to Visa, which it says controls more than 70 percent of the online debit market.

Visa called the department's claims “legally flawed” and said Plaid was a network that transmitted data, not a direct rival. “Visa's business faces intense competition from a variety of players — but Plaid is not one of them,” the company said in a statement.

The Justice Department's complaint details internal Visa discussions about the threat that Plaid posed and quotes Visa's chief executive as describing the deal to another executive as an “insurance policy” for the company's lucrative online debit business.

STACY COWLEY

CURRENCY

Bitcoin's Value Soars, Nearing 2017 Levels

The price of the virtual currency Bitcoin has moved back toward its record high, pushed up by new signs of corporate acceptance and the turmoil around the pandemic and the presidential election.

The value of a single Bitcoin soared to above \$15,000 on cryptocurrency exchanges on Thursday, the highest level since the price briefly hit \$20,000 in late 2017. A Bitcoin is a digital token — with no physical backing — that can be sent electronically from one user to another, anywhere in the world.

Bitcoin's value is up more than 100 percent since the beginning of the year. It has risen particularly quickly in recent weeks since the digital payments company PayPal announced last month that it would begin allowing its customers to buy and pay for products with Bitcoin and a few other cryptocurrencies.

Cryptocurrency market watchers have said that Bitcoin's decentralized governance and finite supply — which is capped at 21 million in the token's computer code — has made it attractive at a time of uncertainty.

NATHANIEL POPPER

COMPANIES

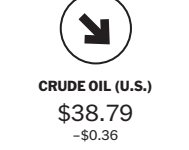
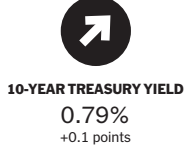
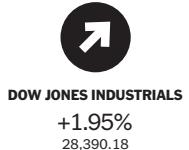
Alibaba Revenue Up 30% Amid E-Commerce Rise

China's biggest e-commerce firm, Alibaba Group Holding, on Thursday reported a 30 percent jump in quarterly revenue, as China recovers from the virus and online shopping demand remains high.

Alibaba reported revenues of 155.1 billion renminbi, or \$23.4 billion, for the three months ended September. Its profit was down 60 percent to 28.8 billion renminbi compared with the same time last year, when it reported a one-time gain after it took a 33 percent stake in its financial affiliate Ant Group.

The company saw its stock plunge nearly 10 percent in Hong Kong on Wednesday, following a 8.1 percent fall in New York on Tuesday, after Chinese regulators on Tuesday suspended the initial public offering of Ant Group on the Shanghai stock market just days before its trading debut, saying the regulatory environment had changed significantly.

A.P.



Another Bullish Day, Despite a Tight Race

By MATT PHILLIPS

Wall Street's rally continued for a fourth day on Thursday, a run that has defied predictions that investors would be unsettled by uncertainty in the outcome of the presidential election, as the S&P 500 gained about 2 percent and was on track for its best weekly showing in nearly seven months.

Thursday's gains mean the S&P 500 is up 7.4 percent this week, rebounding from a loss of 5.6 percent last week. A gain of more than 4.9 percent through Friday would be the benchmark's best weekly showing since mid-April, when stocks rallied more than 12 percent.

The run has surprised some investors, given the scale of the political and economic uncertainties the country continues to face. While Joseph R. Biden Jr. is ahead in the presidential election, the race is extremely tight, with vote-counting continuing in several key states. Lawsuits filed by the President Trump's campaign could extend the political uncertainty for weeks. And the country continues to see record numbers of coronavirus infections, which likely will create a headwind for the economy over the coming weeks.

Negative developments on any of those fronts has the potential to snuff out rising stock market optimism. “It's going to be very news-driven, and I think that we have to expect that there's going to be a lot of volatility,” said Doug Rivelli, president of the institutional brokerage firm Abel Noser in New York.

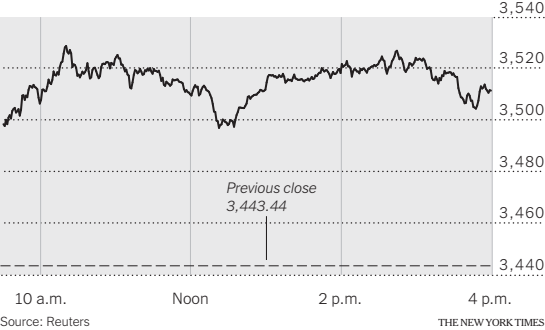
For now, however, Wall Street seems to be seeing only good news in the possible outcomes. Should Mr. Biden win the presidency, and Republicans retain control of the Senate, the resulting gridlock in Washington will mean few policy surprises to come in the next few years.

If Mr. Biden wins and Democrats carry the Senate, then a surge of government spending aimed at shoring up the economy is also seen as good news for the markets, while expected tax increases and more restrictive regulation are a problem for another day.

That scenario was back on the

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Wednesday.



U.S. Productivity

Index of output per hour of all workers in nonfarm businesses, 2012=100, seasonally adjusted.

3rd quarter initial **+4.9%**
Change at annual rate

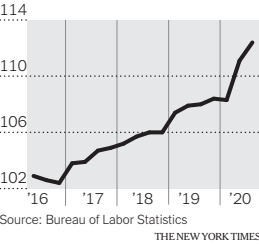


table on Thursday, as results from Georgia suggested that candidates for both of the state's Senate races could face a runoff in January, and sectors of the stock market seen as potential winners from a large-scale fiscal push from Washington Democrats fared well.

Shares of two solar companies, Sunnova Energy and Solar Edge, were up 11 percent and 13 percent. Solar stocks have become something of a barometer of the probability investors place on Democrats taking control in Washington, because they're seen as beneficiaries of environmentally themed infrastructure spending and tax policies that favor renew-

able energy.

Companies that benefit from construction and infrastructure spending were also higher, such as Terex and United Rentals, which rose 7 percent and 5 percent.

Another round of stimulus may not wait until a new government is in place. Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, said on Wednesday that reaching a deal on a stimulus bill would be “Job 1” when lawmakers return for the lame-duck congressional session.

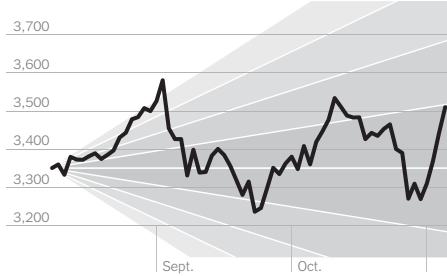
The Federal Reserve's emergency support programs will expire at the end of the year, but analysts increasingly expect that the central bank will do more to support the economy if the election outcome leads to a relatively small fiscal stimulus package.

The kind of support the central bank can offer is better for financial markets than it is for unemployed workers and struggling small businesses who don't directly benefit from it, said William Delwiche, an investment strategist at Baird, a financial firm in Milwaukee.

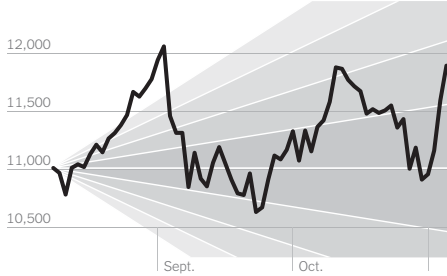
Mr. Delwiche said a divided government would also probably mean that Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, is likely to remain in place: “He's been the calmest, most reassuring voice through this whole thing, so maybe part of this is the market expressing comfort in that outcome.”

What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

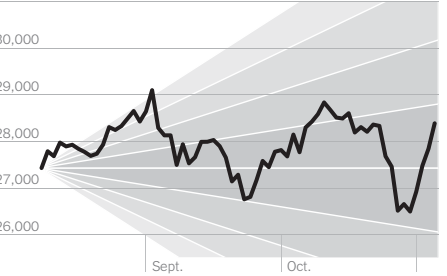
S&P 500 3510.45 ↑ 2.0%



Nasdaq Composite Index 11890.93 ↑ 2.6%



Dow Jones industrials 28390.18 ↑ 2.0%



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Albemarle Cor (ALB)	\$105.50	+12.9%
2. Qualcomm Inc (QCOM)	145.41	+12.7
3. Qorvo Inc (QRVO)	146.69	+9.7
4. Parker-Hannifin (PH)	237.98	+9.6
5. Perrigo Comp (PRGO)	45.21	+9.5
6. Citizens Fina (CFG)	28.91	+8.2
7. Applied Mate (AMAT)	69.95	+7.8
8. Cardinal Heal (CAH)	53.06	+7.3
9. Skyworks Sol (SWKS)	149.12	+6.9
10. Norwegian Cr (NCLH)	17.25	+6.7

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. HanesBrands I (HBI)	\$13.33	-18.6%
2. Biogen Inc (BIIB)	328.90	-7.5
3. Incyte Corp (INCY)	84.65	-7.2
4. Paycom Softw (PAYC)	373.26	-6.1
5. Jack Henry & (JKHY)	153.66	-5.4
6. Pioneer Natur (PXD)	79.58	-4.7
7. Cboe Global (CBOE)	83.05	-4.5
8. Diamondback (FANG)	26.20	-3.4
9. DENTSPLY SIR (XRAY)	46.61	-3.1
10. Extra Space S (EXR)	113.90	-2.9

Most active

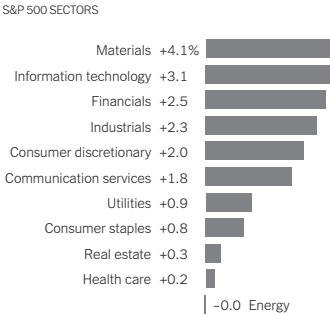
S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Apple Inc (AAPL)	\$119.03	+3.5%	125.6
2. General Electr (GE)	7.99	+1.8	85.5
3. Bank of Ameri (BAC)	24.61	+3.9	74.6
4. Ford Motor Co (F)	7.99	+4.6	61.3
5. American Air (AAL)	11.60	+5.4	54.7
6. Marathon Oil (MRO)	4.29	+0.5	51.5
7. Advanced Micr (AMD)	83.00	+2.0	46.4
8. Wells Fargo & (WFC)	22.33	+2.5	38.3
9. Microsoft Co (MSFT)	223.29	+3.2	36.0
10. AT&T Inc (T)	27.51	+1.7	35.1

Regional and emerging markets

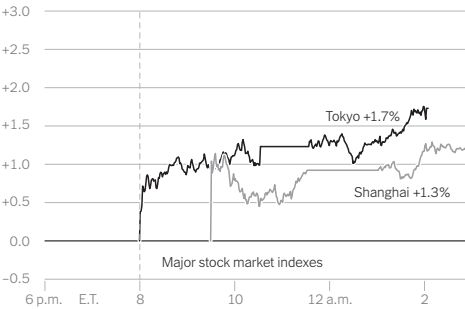
	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BILL.
1. Fidelity Series Emerging Markets Opps(FEMSX)	+17.8%	+11.8%	\$27.2
2. Invesco Developing Markets Y(ODVYX)	+10.4	+9.4	18.4
3. Vanguard Emerging Mkts Stock Idx Adm(VEMAX)	+10.8	+8.1	14.5
4. American Funds New World A(NEWFX)	+17.4	+10.9	13.3
5. Virtus Vontobel Emerging Markets Opps I(HIEMX)	+10.9	+7.1	5.1
6. Baron Emerging Markets Institutional(BEXIX)	+18.7	+9.4	5.0
7. Fidelity Emerging Markets(FEMKX)	+28.8	+14.2	4.5
8. Vanguard European Stock Index Admiral(VEUSX)	-1.7	+3.9	3.8
9. Lazard Emerging Markets Equity Instl(LZEMX)	-10.5	+3.1	3.5
10. T. Rowe Price Emerging Markets Stock(PRM SX)	+12.5	+11.1	3.3

Source: Morningstar

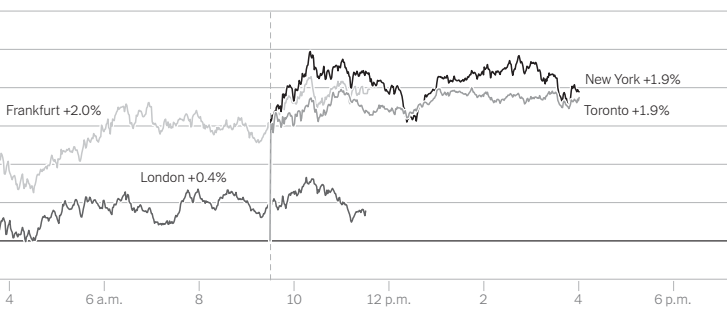
Sector performance



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...



... in Europe

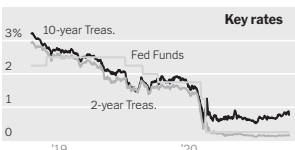


... and in the Americas.



What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

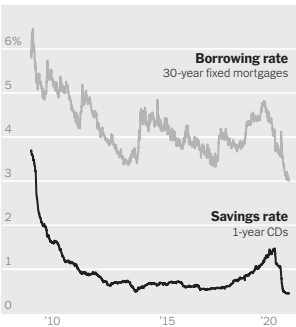
Bonds



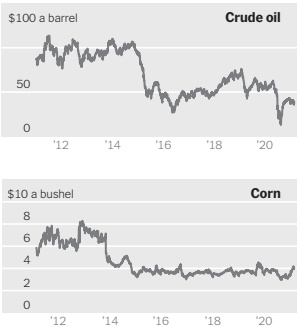
Currencies



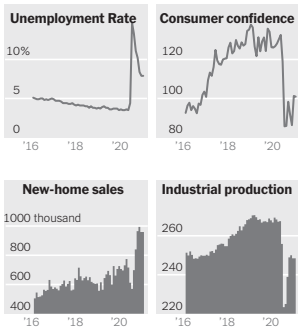
Consumer rates



Commodities



Economy



VIRUS FALLOUT

Britain’s Policymakers Find That the Virus Is a Moving Target

By ESHE NELSON

LONDON — On the first day of a new national monthlong lockdown in England, it became evident just how much the resurgent coronavirus pandemic had thrown the British economic recovery into reverse. On Thursday, the government and central bank announced an extension of emergency stimulus measures they had introduced in the spring.

The Bank of England downgraded its forecasts for economic growth, saying the recession this year would be deeper and the recovery next year would be slower than it previously predicted.

A few hours later, the chancellor of the Exchequer, Rishi Sunak, scrapped plans to replace the furlough program, in which the government pays 80 percent of the wages for the hours employees cannot work. It was to end on Oct. 31, but it was extended for a month

The central bank and treasury expanded efforts to support the nation’s finances.

to coincide with the new lockdown. On Thursday, Mr. Sunak said it would be available until the end of March.

“I know that people watching at home will have been frustrated by the changes the government has brought in during the past few weeks,” Mr. Sunak told lawmakers in Parliament on the same day that bars, restaurants and non-essential shops shut their doors to customers a second time. “I have had to make rapid adjustments to our economic plans as the spread of the virus has accelerated.”

The British economy has veered off the path the chancellor had been preparing for as virus cases jumped. In July, Mr. Sunak began rolling back stimulus as the economy reopened. Then, six

weeks ago, he outlined a “winter economic plan” designed to support the next phase of the recovery. Employers would be forced to pay a bigger share of their staffers’ salaries to make up for reduced working hours, as a way to limit government support to what he called “viable jobs.”

Since then, the average daily number of new infections has more than tripled, to 22,000, and the government’s decision to impose local lockdowns on virus hot spots failed to constrain the spread fast enough. And so, Mr. Sunak has reverted to the more generous job support program.

He also said on Thursday that companies could rehire people they had laid off recently if they were on the payroll on Sept. 23, and claim wage support for them under the furlough plan.

Some of the uncertainties and U-turns in the government’s response probably could have been avoided, said Jagjit Chadha, the director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

“Nobody is saying we can completely see the future but it was pretty clear from the scientific analysis that we had in March that there was going to be a first wave and a second wave,” he said.

His organization has been arguing for the government to guarantee income support whenever there are lockdowns or a surge in virus cases that seriously hampers the economy, rather than “time contingent” policies that expire and are ultimately extended. This approach is “a lot more effective than the kind of sequence of stop-go, stop-go that’s been going on since the summer,” he said.

The British economy is now expected to contract 2 percent in the fourth quarter compared with the previous quarter, the central bank said. And the economy won’t return to its pre-pandemic size until early 2022. Three months ago, the Bank of England foresaw a 4 percent increase for the fourth quarter, and a recovery to pre-pa-



A walkway in London's Barbican arts complex was nearly empty Thursday, the first day of England's new lockdown aimed at curbing a surge in virus cases.

ndemic levels at the end of next year.

The unemployment rate is also expected to peak at 7.75 percent in 2021, up from 4.5 percent in August. This is only a slight increase from previous projections, because the central bank expects 5.5 million people to be in the furlough program this month, an increase of about three million people.

The extended program is forecast to cost the British government 6.2 billion pounds (\$8.1 billion) a month, according to the Resolution Foundation, a think tank that studies living standards.

“Support for firms and workers through a difficult winter is welcome, but it is hard to conclude that the messy process of returning economic policy to full lockdown mode via a two-month, five-stage U-turn is anything other than deeply suboptimal,” said Torsten Bell, the chief executive of

the Resolution Foundation.

Central bankers voted unanimously to buy £150 billion more in government bonds, increasing the bank’s total stock to £875 billion. These purchases would begin in January and are expected to last until the end of next year. Officials made more purchases than economists had predicted, and it was the third time the Bank of England has increased bond-buying in 2020. The program is aimed at helping to keep interest rates low, which would make government debt easier to repay over time while encouraging lenders to invest in riskier assets than government bonds.

Prime Minister Boris Johnson has said this lockdown would last only until Dec. 2, but there are expectations, even within his own cabinet, that after this date, England will be under severe restrictions. On Sunday, Michael Gove, a senior cabinet minister, acknowledged that the measures — which

require people to stay at home unless they need to leave for work, education or essential shopping — could be extended beyond a month.

“It would be foolish to predict with absolute certainty what will happen in four weeks’ time, when over the course of the last two weeks its rate, its infectiousness, its malignancy have grown,” Mr. Gove said.

In the spring, Britain shuttered businesses and much of its economy later than some of its neighbors, and in the end had a longer lockdown and one of Europe’s worst recessions in the second quarter. Some politicians and economists fear that Britain is repeating this error. Opposition lawmakers had pushed for a shorter nationwide lockdown weeks ago but the government persisted with local restrictions instead.

But the situation in the European Union — Britain’s main trad-

ing partner — has also deteriorated. A second wave of the pandemic is “dashing our hopes for a quick rebound,” Valdis Dombrovskis, the European Commission executive vice president, said on Thursday. The commission produced new economic forecasts for the bloc showing the recovery weakening. And a landmark 750 billion euro (\$883 billion) stimulus package is stuck in negotiations, and the loans and grants will not be distributed until next year.

The latest stimulus measures cover the period when Britain will separate from the European Union. In line with the government’s official policy, the Bank of England assumes that there will be a free-trade agreement between Britain and the bloc. But its forecasts expect trade disruption to reduce economic growth by one percentage point in the first quarter of 2021, as many businesses still aren’t prepared for a new trading arrangement.

Legal Notice

If You Transacted in SSA Bonds Between January 1, 2005 and March 6, 2019, You May Be Affected by Class Action Settlements

I. THIS NOTICE

This Notice is to alert you to three proposed settlements reached with Defendants Bank of America Corporation, Bank of America, N.A., Merrill Lynch International, Bank of America Merrill Lynch International Limited, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Incorporated (collectively “Bank of America”), Deutsche Bank AG, Deutsche Bank Securities Inc. (collectively “Deutsche Bank”), HSBC Securities (USA) Inc. and HSBC Bank plc (collectively “HSBC,” and together with Bank of America and Deutsche Bank, “Settling Defendants”) in a class action against the Settling Defendants, and Barclays Bank plc, Barclays Capital Inc., Barclays Services Limited, Barclays Capital Securities Limited, BNP Paribas S.A., BNP Paribas Securities Corp., Citigroup Inc., Citibank N.A., Citigroup Global Markets Inc., Citigroup Global Markets Limited, Crédit Agricole Corporate and Investment Bank, Credit Suisse AG, Credit Suisse Securities (USA) LLC, Credit Suisse Securities (Europe) Limited, Credit Suisse International, Nomura Securities International, Inc., Nomura International plc, Royal Bank of Canada, RBC Capital Markets, LLC, RBC Europe Limited, The Toronto-Dominion Bank, and TD Securities (USA) LLC, Hiren Gudka, Bhardeep Singh Heer, Amandeep Singh Manku, Gary McDonald, and Shailen Pau (“Non-Settling Defendants,” and together with Settling Defendants, “Defendants”).

The lawsuit alleges that the Defendants engaged in anticompetitive acts that affected the market for SSA Bonds in violation of Section 1 of the Sherman Act, 15 U.S.C. §1. The lawsuit was brought by, and on behalf of, certain persons or entities (together, “Persons”) who transacted in SSA Bonds. The Defendants deny any wrongdoing.

Settlements have been reached with each of the Settling Defendants. Plaintiffs’ claims against the Non-Settling Defendants have been dismissed, and Plaintiffs filed an appeal on September 14, 2020. The Settling Defendants have agreed to pay \$95.5 million (the “Settlement Fund”). The United States District Court for the Southern District of New York (“Court”) authorized this notice. Before any money is paid, the Court will hold a hearing to decide whether to approve the settlements. Approval of these settlements by the Court will resolve this lawsuit in its entirety with respect to the Settling Defendants.

II. WHO IS A MEMBER OF A SETTLEMENT CLASS?

There are three Settlement Classes. Subject to certain exceptions, the Settlement Classes include certain Persons who, from January 1, 2005 through March 6, 2019, transacted in SSA Bonds with a Defendant.

If you are unsure if you are a member of a Settlement Class, more information, including a detailed notice, is available at www.SSABondsAntitrustSettlement.com or by calling +1 (855) 966-3307.

III. WILL I GET A PAYMENT?

If you are a member of a Settlement Class and do not opt out, you will be eligible to file a proof of Claim Form. The amount of your payment will be determined by a Plan of Allocation. Details about the Plan of Allocation are available at www.SSABondsAntitrustSettlement.com. A date for distribution of the Settlement Fund has not been set. Proof of claim forms must be submitted by April 16, 2021.

IV. WHAT ARE MY RIGHTS AS A CLASS MEMBER?

If you are a member of a Settlement Class and do not opt out, you will release certain legal rights against the Settling Defendants and the Released Parties, as explained in the detailed notice and settlement agreements, available at www.SSABondsAntitrustSettlement.com. If you do not want to take part in the proposed settlements, you must opt out by February 1, 2021.

You may, but do not have to, object to the proposed settlements, the Plan of Allocation, or Co-Lead Class Counsel’s application to the Court for an award of attorneys’ fees, expenses, and service awards to the Class Plaintiffs for representing the Settlement Classes. To do so, you must file your objections by February 1, 2021.

Information on how to opt out or file objections is in the detailed notice available at www.SSABondsAntitrustSettlement.com.

V. WHEN IS THE FAIRNESS HEARING?

The Court will hold a hearing on April 2, 2021, at 11:30 a.m., at the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Thurgood Marshall United States Courthouse, 40 Foley Square, Courtroom 619, New York, New York 10007, to consider whether to approve the proposed settlements, the Plan of Allocation, and Co-Lead Class Counsel’s application for an award of attorneys’ fees, expenses, and service awards to the Class Plaintiffs. You or your lawyer may ask to appear and speak at the hearing at your own expense, but you do not have to.

The Court has appointed the lawyers listed below to represent the Settlement Classes in this lawsuit:

Daniel L. Brockett
Quinn Emanuel Urquhart & Sullivan, LLP
51 Madison Avenue, 22nd Floor
New York, NY 10010

David W. Mitchell
Robbins Geller Rudman & Dowd, LLP
655 West Broadway, Suite 1900
San Diego, CA 92101

Virus Digest

RIDE HAILING
Uber Posts a Decline In Third Quarter Revenue
Uber's core ride-hailing business continues to be battered by the coronavirus while its food delivery business surges, the company said in its quarterly earnings report on Thursday.

Uber's revenue in the third quarter was \$3.1 billion, an 18 percent annual decline. Revenue from rides and Uber's other transportation offerings, such as scooter rentals, was down 53 percent compared with last year, while its delivery revenue increased 125 percent.

The company lost \$1.1 billion, an 8 percent improvement from the \$1.2 billion Uber lost in the third quarter last year. Company officials said they were optimistic that Uber's financial situation was improving.

"As consolidated growth returns, it will return to a more profitable foundation," Nelson Chai, Uber's chief financial officer, said in a statement.

Uber scored a major win in California this week, when voters passed a ballot initiative that would allow the company to continue to treat its drivers as independent contractors and grant them reprieve from a state law that required it to employ its drivers. The company's stock price has increased more than 17 percent since that result.

Still, the company faces regulatory challenges. Its growing delivery business, Uber Eats, has faced roadblocks in some cities that have imposed a cap on the fees the company can charge for deliveries. The caps are intended to protect restaurants and consumers during the pandemic.

— KATE CONGER

AUTOMOBILES
Strong North American Sales Boost G.M. to \$4 Billion Profit

General Motors reported robust third-quarter results as auto sales and production rebounded through the summer after the coronavirus forced the industry to shut down factories and dealerships in the spring.

The automaker reported net income of \$4 billion, a 74 percent increase from the same period in 2019. Revenue in the quarter was unchanged at \$35.5 billion.

Almost all of G.M.'s profit was generated in North America, where it enjoyed strong demand for high-margin trucks and sport utility vehicles. G.M. earned \$4.4 billion in North America before interest and taxes, up from \$3 billion a year ago.

The company was also helped by cost-cutting, though it said on Thursday that it would now seek to expand capacity, including by reaching a new agreement with its Canadian union that will allow G.M. to make pickup trucks in 2022 at a plant in Oshawa, Ontario.

"The fact is, we simply can't build enough. And because we expect demand to remain strong, we must increase our capacity," Mary Barra, the company's chairman and chief executive, said in a conference call with analysts.

The company is also rushing to introduce electric vehicles. Ms. Barra said construction on a battery plant in Lordstown, Ohio, is ahead of schedule, and would eventually add 1,100 jobs to the area.

Mr. Barra said G.M. expected to reinstate its dividend around the middle of next year. The company suspended its dividend early in the pandemic.

— NEAL E. BOUDETTE

Noting Uncertainty, Federal Reserve Keeps Rates Steady

By JEANNA SMIALEK
WASHINGTON — The Federal Reserve chair, Jerome H. Powell, said on Thursday that the labor market's recovery was only half-way complete and that more government support would likely be needed to return the economy to full strength, calling the recent rise in virus cases "particularly concerning."

In remarks after the central bank's November meeting, Mr. Powell reiterated that the economic outlook is "extraordinarily uncertain" and pledged to continue supporting growth for as long as needed.

Economic progress has exceeded initial expectations amid state and local reopenings, but the recovery remains incomplete, progress is moderating and risks loom ahead. Mr. Powell noted that the U.S. is "a long way from our goals, and we're halfway there on the labor market recovery, at best."

The Fed is trying to coax the economy back to full health. It left interest rates unchanged at its November meeting, having slashed them to near-zero in March, and it reiterated that it plans to keep them low for the foreseeable future. The central bank has also been buying huge quantities of government-backed bonds — about \$120 billion a month, recently — in an attempt to keep markets functioning smoothly and to stimulate demand. It said it would keep the purchases up at that pace "at least."

Low rates do seem to be powering a recovery. Housing has been a bright spot, for instance, as buyers scramble to purchase new and existing houses. But government spending programs have also been an important driver of the rebound so far, keeping money flowing to businesses and households.

Now further economic progress is teetering on a precipice as U.S. coronavirus cases rise and those



Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, in September. He said Thursday that the U.S. was "a long way from our goals."

government support programs run dry. The outcome of this week's elections remains uncertain, making it hard to guess whether and when the government will renew programs that created forgivable small business loans, expanded unemployment insurance and provided other safeguards that have helped to keep businesses and families afloat.

Mr. Powell said the two biggest economic risks right now are the "further spread of the disease" and the likelihood that households will run through the savings they were able to accumulate as a result of government programs early in the pandemic, including stimulus checks and enhanced unemployment benefits.

"The fiscal policy actions that have been taken thus far have made a critical difference," Mr. Powell said. "Even so, the current

economic downturn is the most severe in our lifetimes."

While the Fed is prepared to act as needed to support the recovery, Mr. Powell reiterated that more fiscal support may be needed to mitigate looming dangers, which also include bankruptcies and

Reiterating the need for more cash support from Congress.

long-term labor market scarring.

"We'll have a stronger recovery if we can just get at least some more fiscal support, when it's appropriate and at the size Congress thinks is appropriate," he said.

The Fed studiously avoids weighing in on politics in an effort to protect its independent status, which is one reason Mr. Powell is

hesitant to be prescriptive when it comes to what Congress should do. Asked about the still-undeclared presidential election and whether it came up during policy deliberations, Mr. Powell said "the election comes up now and again, but it is not at all a central focus of the meeting, not at all."

There is still more that the Fed could do to stimulate the economy, and Mr. Powell, in response to a question, said the central bank is not "out of power or out of ammo."

While Mr. Powell did not commit to any new efforts, he noted that the Fed could tweak its bond-buying program. The central bank is pondering what that might look like, and the November meeting was about "having a good discussion about how to think about those various parameters," he said.

Economists say officials could reinforce their pledge to keep in-

terest rates low for an extended period of time. They could also change up the communication around the Fed's bond purchases, or shake up the program's composition so that purchases tilt more toward longer-dated debt, all with the goal of making credit cheaper and keeping money flowing into the economy.

Yet such measures are no panacea. They benefit people who are in a position to buy houses and cars and can help the economy to recover in the medium to long term. Fed policies are not suited to get money straight into the hands of the workers who have lost their jobs. Such targeted relief would have to come from Congress and the White House.

Mr. Powell also faced questions about the central bank's suite of emergency lending programs. Several of the efforts are backed by funding from the Treasury Department and are set to expire in December, unless Mr. Powell and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin agree to extend them.

"We're just in the process of turning to that question," Mr. Powell said, noting that it's a decision that they "have to make and will make" jointly with the Treasury Department.

Mr. Mnuchin suggested in a recent response to congressional questioning that he favors allowing at least one facility, which buys municipal bonds, to expire.

If a coronavirus vaccine is being rolled out in the coming weeks, that could mean that the Treasury Department would be less inclined to extend the facilities. It is also possible that if Mr. Trump's re-election bid fails, he could block the facilities from being reauthorized so that Joseph R. Biden Jr. has fewer economic stimulus tools at his disposal.

The Treasury Department did not respond to a request for comment.

Alan Rappeport contributed reporting.

New Jobless Claims Offer Little Indication Of Economic Rebound

By GILLIAN FRIEDMAN
New claims for state unemployment benefits held steady last week, offering little sign that the U.S. economic recovery is gaining traction.

The Labor Department said on Thursday that 738,000 new claims had been filed, a figure virtually unchanged from the previous week. The seasonally adjusted total was 751,000, significantly lower than in the early weeks of the coronavirus pandemic but still extraordinarily high by historical standards.

Another 363,000 new claims were filed under the federal Pandemic Unemployment Assistance program, which provides benefits to part-time workers, freelancers and others ordinarily ineligible for jobless aid.

"More than a half year after the pandemic-caused downturn began, we remain in a very stressful time for the U.S. economy," said

Mark Hamrick, senior economic analyst for Bankrate.com.

That economic stress is compounded by the political impasse over new federal aid. The election this week made congressional control likely to remain split, dampening chances for a large package favored by Democrats, though possibly increasing chances for something smaller before year's end.

"The prospects of a fiscal stimulus over the next few weeks are still quite uncertain, and the possibility of even a stronger economy under a Democratic sweep is now highly unlikely," said Gregory Daco, chief U.S. economist for Oxford Economics. "As a result, we are that much more concerned about the pace of growth heading into 2021 and the effect on the labor market."

The labor market has recovered about half of the 22 million jobs lost after the pandemic struck in March, but the gains have been



TIM GRUBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

steadily slowing in recent months. Economists expect the Labor Department's comprehensive October report, due on Friday, to show an increase of 590,000 jobs, compared with 661,000 in September, and a decline in the unemployment rate to 7.7 percent from 7.9 percent.

Experts will also be watching sectors like retailing, and leisure and hospitality, for signs of renewed economic pain. A surge in coronavirus cases in the Midwest has prompted a fresh round of lockdowns, which could lead to more layoffs as businesses close

and people feel less comfortable dining in restaurants and shopping in stores.

More Americans are joining the ranks of the long-term unemployed, defined as those out of work for 27 weeks or more, and many have exhausted their state benefits. The number receiving assistance through Pandemic Emergency Unemployment Compensation, which provides 13 weeks of benefits after state unemployment insurance runs out, is rising.

The number of individuals receiving any type of unemploy-

If the virus surges in the Midwest, it could portend a rise in jobless claims as indoor dining is further curbed.

ment benefit in the week that ended Oct. 17 declined 1.2 million to 21.5 million, the Labor Department said. More than 60 percent of that total, or 13.3 million, were counted as receiving benefits from Pandemic Emergency Unemployment Compensation or Pandemic Unemployment Assistance, both of which are set to expire at the end of the year. (Some experts say the Pandemic Unemployment Assistance total may be overstated.)

"Whoever becomes the president faces a very formidable challenge in the coming months, as winter weighs down on certain industries that were able to get by with outdoor service, as extended unemployment benefits expire at the end of the year and as assistance for student-loan borrowers and renters expires," said Julia Pollak, a labor economist at the career site ZipRecruiter. "A wave of challenges is coming in the direction of workers who have lost their jobs in the pandemic."

Nelson D. Schwartz contributed reporting.

\$26 Billion Settlement Bid in Opioid Suits Gains Support

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
States that are suffering from interly fought, resulting in a handful of settlements and the declaration of bankruptcy by some drug manufacturers, including Purdue Pharma, which just reached a settlement of federal criminal and civil charges.

The three distributors announced the outlines of their settlement offers in quarterly earnings reports released Tuesday and Thursday. Johnson & Johnson announced its portion in a filing last month.

The distributors shipped more than three-quarters of the nation's opioids to pharmacies, rarely raising red flags even when quantities were wildly disproportionate to a store's local population, according to federal data. Over 10 years, for example, the companies shipped nearly 21 million prescription painkillers to two pharmacies four blocks apart in a West Virginia town with a population of 2,900.

The latest deal is being brokered under the shadow of two major trials tentatively scheduled for January, which the companies are hoping to avoid. Unlike last year's smaller settlement offer, which was wittingly rejected by many states but especially by lawyers negotiating for thousands of counties, cities and tribes, this offer is being widely lauded.

"The deal gets money to all of the communities in the United

States that are suffering from interly fought, resulting in a handful of settlements and the declaration of bankruptcy by some drug manufacturers, including Purdue Pharma, which just reached a settlement of federal criminal and civil charges.

Still, the lawyers will have to sell the offers to the local governments they represent. "We believe it's in the best interest of these communities to begin receiving a payment stream. We looked at the finances of these companies and believe the numbers are now appropriate," said Mr. Hanly, who is on an executive committee of negotiators.

Without that agreement from states and localities, the companies could remain exposed indefinitely to more opioid-related lawsuits — and so could walk away from this deal.

In the latest settlement offer, the distributors have agreed to strengthen their drug monitoring programs, which have been castigated in hundreds of lawsuits as contributing to billions of pills ultimately being sold illegally.

According to the general contours of the plan described in this week's filings, the distributors will collectively pay about \$21 billion over 18 years, with \$8 billion paid by McKesson alone.

Johnson & Johnson said it would contribute \$5 billion, most of it in the first three years. Lawsuits against Johnson & Johnson said that the company had formerly contracted with poppy growers in Tasmania and supplied 65 percent of oxycodone active ingredients sold in the United States. Its subsidiary, Janssen Pharmaceuticals, manufactured its own opioids, since discontinued, and aggressively marketed them to doctors.

The settlement money would mostly be used for measures to abate the opioid crisis, including treatment programs, and to reimburse local and state governments for expenses related to the epidemic.

State attorneys general contacted for this article declined to comment because the proposal has not yet been finalized. Lawyers familiar with the talks said that at least 45 states regard the terms positively.

New York was described as a leader in the negotiations and a proponent of the deal. Holdout states are said to include New Mexico and Washington. Oklahoma isn't fully participating because it has already won its trial against Johnson & Johnson, although that verdict is being appealed.

But at least one obstacle to the deal suggests how difficult it is to

reach consensus. Although the state of West Virginia settled with distributors years ago, its counties and cities, which have their own lawsuits in federal court, have not. Indeed a major bench trial against the distributors brought by the West Virginia city of Huntington and surrounding Cabell County is set to begin Jan. 4.

The lead lawyer, Paul T. Farrell, Jr. has not agreed to the offer. "West Virginia fully supports the national settlement on behalf of every other state," said Mr. Farrell, who represents numerous West Virginia small governments. "It's just not good enough for us."

According to the distributors' earnings reports, settling the cases depends on a critical mass of plaintiffs signing on, although what constitutes an acceptable majority is not clear. The offer is said to give incentives to states to sign up as many local governments as they can. Without that broad buy-in, the companies could remain exposed to more opioid-related lawsuits indefinitely — and so could walk away from this deal.

Over nearly two years of talks, the most stubborn sticking points, aside from a bottom-line dollar figure, were about how to allocate funds to very different categories of plaintiffs — as well as to plaintiffs of private lawyers.

Under the deal, each state would determine how it would distribute settlement money. The amount each state would receive is expected to be determined by four factors: state population, overdose deaths, diagnoses of substance use disorders and volume of pills sold.

Reaching agreement on compensating the lawyers has also been a knotty problem. The cities and counties have relied on hundreds of private lawyers, who have worked on the litigation for years based on contingency fees and have already fronted hundreds of millions of dollars in expenses.

Many states also used outside counsel to supplement their own staffs.

Sometimes the same lawyers who represent local governments also worked for states. The local governments and the states have often had contentious relationships in negotiations.

The \$2 billion for the lawyers is expected to be paid out over seven years.

Characterizing the biggest difference between the deal offered a year ago and this latest one, a person familiar with negotiations said: "It has some more money for governments that helped their citizens but a lot more money for lawyers."

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MEDIA

Fox News Meets Trump Campaign’s Fraud Claims With Skepticism

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
president called the election “an embarrassment to our country,” spoke more pointedly on her 10 p.m. show that day. She claimed that Democrats were trying to “destroy the integrity of our election process with this mail-in, day-of registration efforts, counting after the election is over, dumping batches of votes a day, two days, maybe even three days after an election.”

Ms. Ingraham added, at one point, “If they won fair and square, they won fair and square, and that’s fine.”

Wednesday’s episode of “The Ingraham Angle” also included an interview with former Speaker Newt Gingrich, who was bare knuckled.

“I think as they watch Joe Biden’s Democratic Party steal the election in Philadelphia, steal the election in Atlanta, steal the election in Milwaukee, I think the more information that comes out, the greater the rage is going to be,” he said.

Mr. Hannity, Mr. Carlson and Ms. Ingraham hosted their shows after a day of skeptical coverage on Fox News.

When Mr. Trump’s lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, and the president’s son Eric Trump were laying out a case for election fraud during a news conference carried live by the network, the anchor Neil Cavuto cut in, declaring that Fox News had called Michigan for Joseph R. Biden Jr. Later in the broadcast, Mr. Cavuto said those who doubted the election’s integrity “would have to prove that illegality.”

The Fox News politics editor, Chris Stirewalt, echoed that sentiment, saying of the Trump campaign’s legal challenges: “Law-



Even “Fox & Friends,” a warm venue for the president, sounded doubts about his talk of a stolen election. CNN and MSNBC have dismissed the claims.

suits, schmawsuits — we haven’t seen any evidence yet that there’s anything wrong.”

Efforts to challenge claims of fake ballots and widespread illegal voting came up in several Fox News segments, where anchors like Chris Wallace and Bret Baier and their guests called repeatedly for evidence of wrongdoing instead of uncorroborated accusations.

Andrew C. McCarthy, a former

federal prosecutor, said on Fox News: “Even if you are able to prove a number of instances of really heinous fraud, but it turns out that you can prove that happened a hundred times and the margin of victory in the election is 20,000 votes, you have some very unfortunate situations — but it doesn’t affect the outcome of the election.”

Outside of Fox News, anchors were blunt in their dismissals of the president’s claims. On Thurs-

day morning, CNN’s Alisyn Camerota read a thread of Twitter posts in which Mr. Trump said that “we hereby claim the State of Michigan if, in fact, there was a large number of secretly dumped ballots as has been widely reported!”

“Fact-check,” Ms. Camerota said. “There is no evidence of any secretly dumped ballots there or elsewhere.”

On Wednesday night on CNN,

the White House correspondent Jim Acosta said some Republicans were criticizing Mr. Trump’s legal attacks “as an ambulance-chasing routine.” Earlier, Michael Smerconish, a radio host and CNN contributor, said, “You can’t just make baseless allegations, and you also can’t talk about ballots that really haven’t even been counted yet as being fundamentally unfair.”

On MSNBC, a network popular

with liberal viewers, the host Nicolle Wallace said on Wednesday that the channel was not “going to amplify” the president’s tweets claiming fraud by showing them on television.

“Donald Trump is also tweeting misinformation about alleged fraud — lies so flagrant that they’re almost difficult to find amid the warnings and flags the social media companies have

‘We haven’t seen any evidence yet that there’s anything wrong.’

Chris Stirewalt, Fox News

placed on and around them,” Ms. Wallace said.

The MSNBC anchor Brian Williams said, “There is no evidence that these are anything but legally cast votes in states that allow them to be legally cast.”

Not all news coverage sought to debunk the false claims of voter fraud. After Election Day, the conservative cable network One America News posted two videos together viewed more than 500,000 times, that pre-emptively declared victory for Mr. Trump and made unsubstantiated accusations that Democrats were throwing out Republican ballots.

YouTube removed ads from both videos and tagged them with a warning note. The videos were left up, said Ivy Choi, a YouTube spokeswoman, because although they contain “demonstrably false” information, they do not violate the platform’s guidelines, which prohibit content that misleads or discourages viewers about voting.

Journalists Stuck in Middle of U.S.-China Struggle

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

Yuhui Chai came to the United States from China more than a dozen years ago, drawn by the country’s vibrant democratic values. She eventually found work as a journalist, relishing the chance to pursue hard-hitting stories and ask questions in a manner often discouraged in China’s authoritarian society.

Now Ms. Chai is among more than 100 Chinese news media employees in the United States caught in a heated dispute between Beijing and Washington over the rights of foreign journalists. Unable to secure a long-term visa amid new American restrictions, she has decided to leave her job this week to return to China.

“There’s no way to plan for the future,” said Ms. Chai, a New York-based correspondent who covers technology for SunTV, a Hong Kong news outlet. “It’s very painful.”

As the United States and China fight a geopolitical struggle over trade, technology, military policy, the coronavirus and other issues, the news media from both countries are caught in the middle.

The American government has put new limits on the number of employees at Chinese state media organizations, effectively forcing some to leave, and shortened visas for Chinese media workers. China has expelled 17 foreign journalists, including some from The New York Times, and frozen the credentials of several others.

China in particular has long harassed and surveilled foreign journalists on its soil, but the new round of tit-for-tat restrictions risks cutting off a critical source of insight into both Chinese and American societies. American journalists in China have traditionally provided an important window into the country’s opaque government.

Chinese journalists in the United States, especially those working for commercial outlets, can play a role, too. While the majority of Chinese journalists in the United States work for the Chinese government’s flagship news outlets, including Xinhua and China Central Television, others represent more commercially minded organizations that strive to produce in-depth journalism. Though they have to abide by China’s strict censorship rules, they can help balance out the Communist Party’s propaganda machine back home.

The Trump administration says a tough approach is necessary to force Beijing to ease pressure on foreign news outlets. Critics argue that the new rules are undermining America’s reputation as a bastion of civil liberties and giving Beijing an excuse to crack down on foreign news outlets even more.

“It has done huge damage to the ideals of freedom of the press and free speech,” said Yik Chan Chin, a lecturer in media and communication studies at the Xi’an Jiaotong-Liverpool University in Suzhou,



Above, a reporter for China Central Television in Beijing. Below, a newsstand in Beijing. The United States has put new limits on employees at Chinese state media outlets, and China has expelled 17 foreign journalists.



China. “All these concepts have been significantly damaged during this war”

Many of the Chinese journalists affected by the new restrictions came to the United States to escape severe controls on the news media in China, where journalists are routinely harassed, punished and imprisoned. Under Xi Jinping, China’s top leader, the government has all but eliminated investigative reporting and demanded that media workers show unflinching loyalty to the party.

Now, faced with visa hassles and growing scrutiny of their work in the United States, some are considering changing jobs. Others are making plans to return home, saying in interviews they are tired of being seen as spies and propaganda workers.

The Trump administration has sought to portray Chinese reporters in the United States as foreign agents, designating nine Chinese news organizations as operatives of the Chinese state. David R. Stilwell, a top State Department official, said in a speech last week that workers at state-run outlets “masquerade as legitimate news reporters when their real business is propaganda and espionage.”

Chinese reporters say that portrayal is too simple. The more commercially minded outlets have somewhat more freedom in what they write or broadcast than

official government outlets like Xinhua.

“In this age of great divides, it’s more important than ever to hear from more people,” said Du Chen, a reporter for a Chinese technology news site who left the United States this year and has been unable to obtain a visa to return.

Mr. Du said smaller Chinese outlets in the United States had played an important role in dispelling stereotypes. “It still is very crucial to keep these journalists on the ground in U.S.,” he said, “if the U.S. government prefers a meaningful exchange of ideas rather than propaganda wars.”

In a move seemingly aimed at avoiding an escalation, American officials said this week that they would allow Chinese journalists whose visas had expired to remain in the United States and apply to have their stays extended. Many are still awaiting word from the Department of Homeland Security on renewal applications they submitted months ago.

China remains angered by a decision by the Trump administration in May to limit visas for Chinese journalists to 90 days, a significant downgrade from the open-ended visas they used to receive. The Chinese Foreign Ministry this week accused the United States of subjecting Chinese journalists to “political persecution and suppression,” and vowed to

retaliate.

China has already stopped renewing press credentials for several foreign reporters still in the mainland, raising the possibility of further expulsions. State-run news outlets have suggested that Beijing could seek to impose limits on foreign journalists working in Hong Kong, a former British colony that has traditionally respected press freedoms, if the situation continues to escalate.

American officials, in response, say the Chinese government has ignored their requests to ease pressure on foreign news outlets. They have called on Chinese officials to reinstate reporters from The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post and The Times who were expelled this year. The expelled reporters have no ties to government institutions or the Trump administration.

“Beijing’s actions prove time and again that the C.C.P. is afraid of independent and investigative media reporting,” a spokesman for the American Embassy in Beijing said in a statement this week, referring to the Chinese Communist Party.

An agreement between the United States and China to ease tensions on the news media, while still elusive, could eventually lay the groundwork for more cooperation, experts say.

A compromise could help reduce friction between the two countries at a tense moment, said Jerome A. Cohen, a New York University law professor and an expert on China.

“These steps will set the tone for the series of broader compromises that have to be attempted regarding more major issues,” Mr. Cohen said, pointing to climate change, trade, arms control and other challenges.

For Chinese journalists, the sharp deterioration in relations has been dispiriting.

Many say they have appreciated the chance to report in a relatively free environment on a variety of contentious issues, such as politics, religion and ethnic divisions — subjects that are typically restricted in China.

“I feel myself breathing again in an open society,” said Helen Zhang, a journalist from China who works in the United States. “Chinese journalism is not dead, but homeless.”

Ms. Chai, the reporter for SunTV, said she was considering leaving journalism once she returned to China, in part because of limits on free speech there. She said she worried that the United States was isolating itself by making it harder for foreigners to report in the country.

“The United States should be giving positive messages to those who support democracy and freedom, instead of punishing everyone,” she said. “If your policies are driven by fear, driven by a kind of hostility, that creates very big problems.”

Albee Zhang contributed research.

New York Times Amasses Over 7 Million Subscribers

By EDMUND LEE

As The New York Times operated at full tilt through a fraught election — one of the most consequential votes in modern American history — the company announced a milestone: As of last week, it had topped seven million paid subscribers, a high.

The New York Times Company has bet on digital readers as the future engine of its business since 2011, when it started charging for online content — and it has largely been a good gamble. In the three-month period ending in September, for the first time, the revenue from digital subscribers was greater than the money the company brought in from print subscribers. The Times said Thursday as part of its third-quarter financial report.

“Our strategy of making journalism worth paying for continues to prove itself out,” Meredith Kopit Levien, who took over as chief executive in September, said in a statement. Digital subscriptions would not only be the central driver of the publisher’s growth, Ms. Levien added, but eventually become its biggest business.

Total revenue during the third quarter was flat, at \$426.9 million, and adjusted operating profit jumped 28 percent, to \$56.5 million, beating investors’ expectations on both counts. Net income doubled to \$33.6 million.

There is little doubt that Donald J. Trump’s presidency has helped lift The Times’s subscription business, and the readership numbers have risen at a steady pace during his years in office. The company set a goal of 10 million subscribers by 2025, a mark that appears within striking distance.

“The continued demand for quality, original, independent journalism across a range of topics makes us even more optimistic about the size of the total market for digital journalism subscriptions and our position in it,” Ms. Levien said.

The company added 393,000 digital subscribers during the three months, bringing the total of paid online readers to more than six million. Of that group, about 4.7 million pay for the core news product, with the rest subscribing to the crossword and cooking apps. An additional 831,000 readers continued to pay for print subscriptions, a drop from last year, reflecting a steady decline in the broadsheet business.

The jump in digital readers fell short of the paper’s record-breaking run in the second quarter as the coronavirus pandemic raged across the country, but the per-

formance was enough to lift total digital revenue. Online sales are now on a pace to exceed print operations for the first time on an annual basis.

But a worrying trend might be this: Digital readers were the only growth business for The Times. Every other unit fell. As online subscription revenue rose 34 percent, to \$155.3 million, revenue from print subscriptions decreased 3.8 percent to \$145.7 million. And advertising sales, once the lifeblood of the newspaper business, dropped 30 percent, to \$79.3 million. The pandemic has cut even deeper into ad sales,

A quarterly report beats investors’ expectations.

which were already falling as fewer people read the paper in print and many companies cut their marketing budgets.

Online advertising has fallen, too, despite the gains in digital readers. The decline came about, in part, because of a falloff in the company’s native content business, in which it creates paid articles for sponsors. As a whole, digital advertising fell 12.6 percent, to \$47.8 million.

Altogether, advertising is likely to become a narrower business for The Times, even as Facebook and Google continue to thrive in that area.

For the last quarter of the year, the company expects both subscriptions and advertising to move at the same year-over-year pace that they did in the third quarter. Subscription revenue is estimated to rise 14 percent, with digital subscription sales increasing about 35 percent. Total ad revenue is expected to fall 30 percent, with online advertising dropping around 15 percent.

The publisher’s cash hoard continued to grow: The Times now has \$800 million on the books, with \$250 million available through a revolving credit line. The company no longer has any debt, having paid off a loan last year that allowed it to buy back its headquarters building in Midtown Manhattan.

The publisher’s sizable cash position could mean more acquisitions to come. This year, the company spent more than \$30 million buying several start-ups, including Serial Productions, the company behind the hit podcast “Serial.”

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AUTOMOBILES

VW’s Diesel Settlement Is Changing Fleets

A \$2.9 billion trust fund will lead to cleaner skies, but a lot of money will go to new diesel vehicles.

Wheels
By JIM MOTAVALLI

The school bus rolled through Beverly, a Boston suburb, early last month. The city’s fleet of buses and minivans makes similar trips every weekday, but here two things were different. First, the ride was eerily quiet because there was no noisy diesel under the hood, and second the socially distanced passengers were not students but local officials and reporters. Beverly was welcoming its first battery electric school bus.

The city wants to convert all 27 of its full-size school buses to electric. That would have been a financial stretch, since electric school buses can cost three times as much as a diesel version. What jump-started the project was a major, if not well known, part of Volkswagen’s diesel settlement.

In federal court settlements from 2016 and 2017, Volkswagen admitted that it had fouled the air by equipping about 590,000 diesel vehicles with “defeat devices” to cheat on federal emissions tests. In addition to compensating U.S. owners (more than \$11 billion) and investing \$2 billion in charging infrastructure for electric vehicles (a project named Electrify America), VW had to offer up \$2.9 billion for a mitigation trust fund that would compensate states for excess nitrogen oxide pollution.

The settlement is proceeding, and will undoubtedly lead to cleaner skies. But much of that money is set to pay for new diesels — much cleaner than the vehicles they replace, but still diesels. Some of it is also now trickling out to projects like the Beverly bus.

“Yes, diesel engines are far cleaner than they used to be,” said Daniel Sperling, founding director of the Institute of Transportation Studies at the University of California, Davis. “The question is: How strongly should we support this interim solution to NOx reduction, as opposed to the more permanent solution of electrification?”

The VW scandal came to light in part because of the efforts of a small American nonprofit, the International Council on Clean Transportation, and an engineer there, John German. Investigating the emissions of American-model diesel cars and trucks, the council and testing



Advocates of clean energy want more money spent on projects like this electric school bus.

partners from West Virginia University found VWs that were as much as 35 times in excess of federal standards. The researchers thought they had made a mistake, but repeated testing produced the same results.

Mr. German sees some value in replacing older diesels with new ones. “Before 2010, diesel trucks and buses had no particulate filters, and particulates are by far the largest health hazard from vehicle emissions,” he said. Mr. German also said that “the charging infrastructure is one of the more neglected pieces in the transition to electric vehicles,” and that he was glad to see some of the funds going there.

The number of affected diesel Volkswagens in each state was the primary factor in deciding the funding allocations, ranging from \$423 million for California to a little more than \$8 million each for North Dakota and South Dakota. About \$700 million had been awarded or made available nationwide through early September, according to statistics from Atlas Public Policy.

The Beverly bus is one of four such vehicles funded in Massachusetts. “Our goal is to transition to as clean and renewable a transportation fleet as is possible,” Mayor Michael P. Cahill said at the Oct. 8 ceremony, pointing out the gap in costs for electrics and diesels. He called this “the first step in a lot of steps.”

Funds from this trust can be used to replace diesel engines (2009 or older) with new ones, or electrics, for all manner of vehicles: a bus or heavy truck, a ferry or tugboat, or airport ground equipment, port forklifts or freight switchers. In the state plans, diesel-to-diesel replacements — which can stretch the money further — account for more than 70 percent of the available funding, said the Diesel Technology Forum, a trade group.

That trend distresses some clean-energy advocates, who argue that it’s time to retire diesel technology.

“We are obviously very disappointed that VW settlement money has been spent on nonelectric technology,” said Katherine Stainken, policy director at Plug In America. “These funds should be spent on technologies that emit zero tailpipe pollution. The future of transportation — in both the light- and heavy-duty sector — is electric all around.”

A new diesel truck could be on the road for 20 years or more. But the Diesel Technology Forum points to federal regulations that mandated much cleaner diesels, and a study claiming that nitrogen oxide emissions in new vehicles have been reduced 94 percent. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, “New heavy-duty trucks and buses are roughly 99 percent cleaner than 1970 models.”

“The largest source of NOx is from heavy-duty diesel trucks, construction equipment and marine engines,” said Allen Schaeffer, the diesel forum’s executive director. “It makes sense to go after the biggest sources.” Replacing the engine in an old diesel tugboat would be the equivalent of taking 74,000 cars off the road, he said.

According to Ken Adler, senior contributing scientist at the Environmental Defense Fund, “It depends on what you think is the biggest problem.

“If you think it’s the existential threat posed by climate change, then you’d want to spend the settlement money on electric school buses,” Mr. Adler, a former E.P.A. official, continued. “But diesel engines can be very dirty, and replacing them with newer diesels is much cheaper.”

E.V. advocates concede that battery technology for heavy trucks is embryonic, but they say that’s why the VW settlement money is important: It can push early adoption.

“Battery electric and hydrogen technology have momentum in the marketplace,” said Cristiano Façanha, global director at CALSTART, which works to further zero-emission technology.

Tesla Motors has announced an electric semitrailer truck with 500-mile range, and orders are being taken, but the date for first deliveries has been pushed back to 2021. In September, General Motors announced a strategic partnership with Nikola, a maker of electric and zero-emission fuel-cell heavy trucks, but Nikola’s technology has since come under scrutiny.

The states are making sharply divergent decisions about where their settlement money is going, under guidelines that give them a fair amount of leeway. The U.S. Public Interest Research Group developed a scorecard for the state plans, based on its conviction that spending the money on diesel or other fossil-fuel technology would be a “wasted opportunity.”

Washington State and Hawaii received A-plus grades, and Rhode Island and Vermont were rated A. California, Massachusetts and New York got B’s, but many states fared poorly: 21 plus Washington, D.C., were rated D, and 14 plus Puerto Rico failed (meaning they did not put a priority on any electric projects).

“Our argument is that we have to think in the long term, and we can’t

continue to double-down on the same technologies that got us into these problems in the first place,” said Matt Casale, director of environment campaigns at U.S. PIRG and a co-author of the study.

Some states leaned heavily on electrification. New York’s Truck Voucher Incentive Program reimburses operators for as much as 95 percent of the incremental cost of a battery or fuel-cell truck over its diesel equivalent (compared with 90 percent subsidies for hybrid-electric, propane or compressed natural gas). Zero-emission transit buses get 100 percent coverage, and electric school buses 80 percent.

The New York State Department of Environmental Conservation has contracts for an estimated \$90 million of the state’s \$127.7 million from the trust fund, said Jared Snyder, the agency’s deputy commissioner for air resources, climate change and energy. .

New York’s program has moved relatively slowly. Barry Carr, executive director of Clean Communities of Central New York, said there were advantages to that.

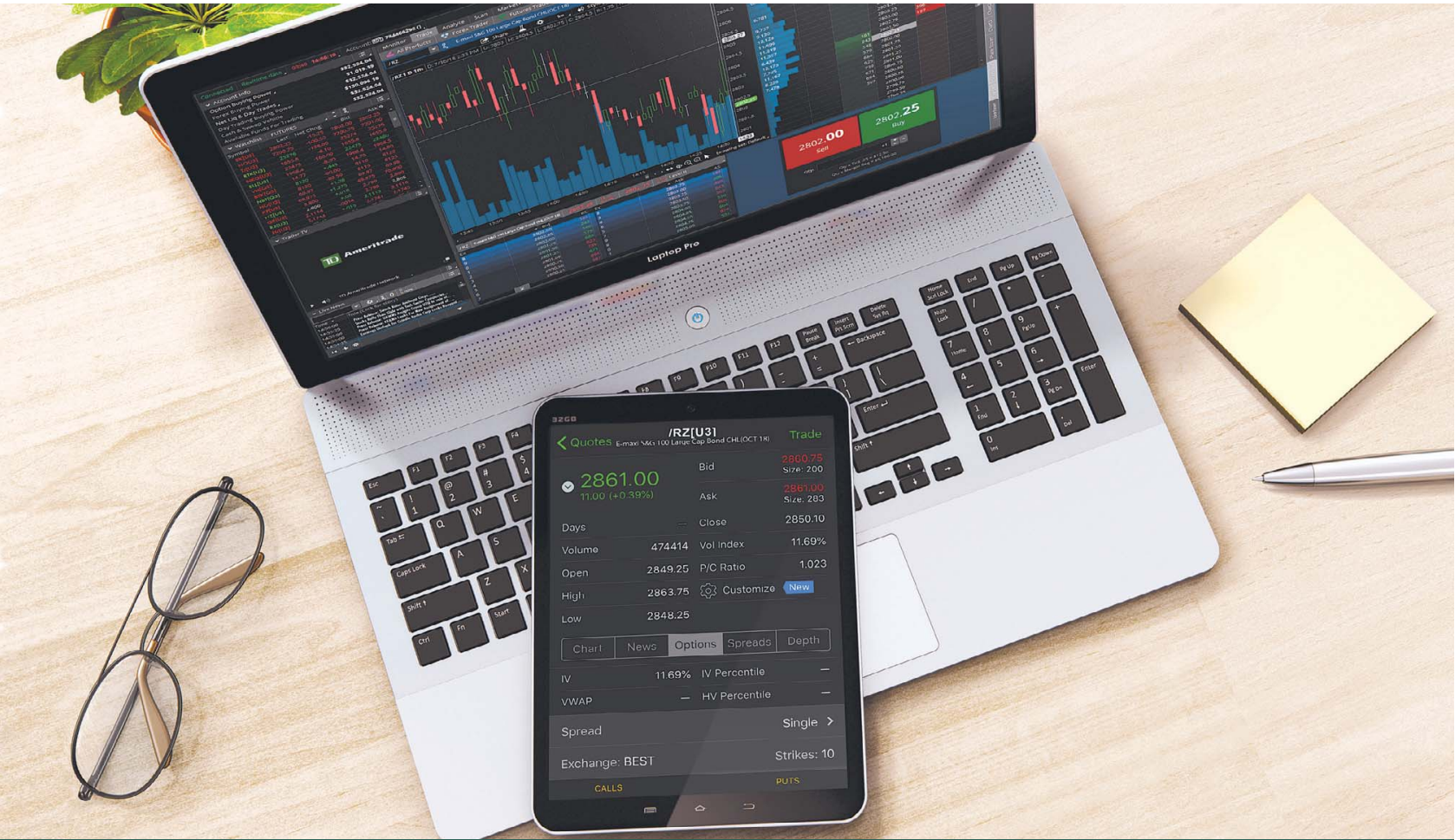
“The good news is that the slow rollout will now include new technologies that were not available two years ago, when the program was established,” he said.

Obviously, companies with a stake in the E.V. world would like to see the process move more quickly.

“We’re excited to help the states meet their ambitious climate reduction goals by reducing emissions,” said Cathy Zoi, the chief executive of EVgo, a company that is working with projects in Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Washington and Florida. “But if people are going to buy electric cars, they have to feel comfortable they can charge them. The peanut butter of E.V.s has to go with the jelly of charging infrastructure.”

The electric solution has the strong support of Brian Foulds, who was on board for that bus ride in Beverly. Mr. Foulds is an E.V. advocate and a resident of Concord, which is also expecting an electric bus through the VW settlement. Concord has had a battery bus since 2016, as well as a large 5.5-megawatt solar array installed in 2017 near the town school bus depot, and its own municipal utility.

“Getting off fossil fuels is where we need to be,” he said.



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Facebook and Twitter Did Better by Locking Down Their Products

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
Fake accounts and potentially dangerous groups have been taken down quickly, and Facebook and Twitter have been unusually proactive about slapping labels and warnings in front of premature claims of victory. (YouTube was a different story, as evidenced by the company's slow, tepid response to a video that falsely claimed that Mr. Trump had won the election.)

The week is young, of course, and there's still plenty of time for problems. Election-related disinformation is already trending up — some of it targeted at Latinos — and will only increase as votes are challenged in the courts, and conspiracy theorists capitalize on all the uncertainty to undermine confidence in the eventual results.

But the platforms' worst fears haven't yet materialized. That's a good thing, and a credit to the employees of those companies who have been busy enforcing their rules.

At the same time, it's worth examining how Twitter, Facebook and YouTube are averting election-related trouble, because it sheds light on the very real problems they still face.

For months, nearly every step these companies have taken to safeguard the election has involved slowing down, shutting off or otherwise hampering core parts of their products — in effect, defending democracy by making their apps worse.

They added friction to processes, like political ad-buying, that had previously been smooth and seamless. They brought in



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Facebook's chief often spoke about his philosophy of “frictionless” design. That was adjusted for the election.

human experts to root out extremist groups and manually intervened to slow the spread of sketchy stories. They overrode their own algorithms to insert information from trusted experts into users' feeds. And as results came in, they relied on the calls made by news organizations like The Associated Press, rather than trusting that their systems would naturally bring the truth to the surface.

Nowhere was this shift more apparent than at Facebook, which for years envisioned itself

as a kind of post-human communication platform. Mark Zuckerberg, the company's chief executive, often spoke about his philosophy of “frictionless” design — making things as easy as possible for users. Other executives I talked to seemed to believe that ultimately, Facebook would become a kind of self-policing machine, with artificial intelligence doing most of the dirty work and humans intervening as little as possible.

But in the lead-up to the 2020 election, Facebook went in the

opposite direction. It put in place a new, cumbersome approval process for political advertisers, and blocked new political ads in the period after Election Day. It throttled false claims, and put in place a “virality circuit-breaker” to give fact-checkers time to evaluate suspicious stories. And it temporarily shut off its recommendation algorithm for certain types of private groups, to lessen the possibility of violent unrest.

All of these changes did, in fact, make Facebook safer. But they also involved dialing back the

very features that have powered the platform's growth for years. It's a telling act of self-awareness, as if Ferrari had realized that it could only stop its cars from crashing by replacing the engines with go-kart motors.

“If you look at Facebook's election response, it was essentially to point a lot of traffic and attention to these hubs that were curated by people,” said Eli Pariser, a longtime media executive and activist who is working on Civic Signals, a new project that is trying to reimagine social media as a public space. “That's an indication that ultimately, when you have information that's really important, there's no substitute for human judgment.”

Twitter, another platform that for years tried to make communication as frictionless as possible, spent much of the past four years trying to pump the brakes. It brought in more moderators, revamped its rules, and put more human oversight on features like Trending Topics. In the months leading up to the election, it banned political ads, and disabled sharing features on tweets containing misleading information about election results, including some from the president's account.

YouTube didn't act nearly as aggressively this week, but it has also changed its platform in revealing ways. Last year, it tweaked its vaunted recommendation algorithm to slow the spread of so-called borderline content. And it started promoting “authoritative sources” dur-

ing breaking news events, to prevent cranks and conspiracy theorists from filling up the search results.

All of this raises the critical question of what, exactly, will happen once the election is over and the spotlight has swiveled away from Silicon Valley. Will the warning labels and circuit-breakers be retired? Will the troublesome algorithms get turned back on? Do we just revert to social media as normal?

Camille François, the chief innovation officer of Graphika, a firm that investigates disinformation on social media, said it was too early to say whether these companies' precautions had worked as intended. But she conceded that this level of hyper-vigilance might not last.

“There were a lot of emergency processes put in place at the platforms,” she said. “The sustainability and the scalability of those processes is a fair question to ask.”

Mr. Pariser said that the platforms' work to prevent election interference this year raised bigger questions about how they will respond to other threats.

“These platforms are used for really important conversations every day,” Mr. Pariser said. “If you do this for U.S. elections, why not other countries' elections? Why not climate change? Why not acts of violence?”

These are the right questions to ask. The social media companies may have gotten through election night without a disaster. But as with the election itself, the real fights are still ahead.

Facebook Throws Up More Hurdles

By MIKE ISAAC

SAN FRANCISCO — Facebook is planning to enact new measures to make it more difficult for election misinformation to spread virally across its platform, two people with knowledge of the matter said Thursday, as the outcome of the presidential race remained uncertain.

Facebook plans to add more “friction” — such as an additional click or two — before people can share posts and other content, said the people, who requested anonymity because they were not authorized to speak publicly. The company will also demote content on the News Feed if it contains election-related misinformation, making it less visible, and limit the distribution of election-related Facebook Live streams, the people said.

The measures are a response to heightened strife and social discord on Facebook after the election on Tuesday, these people said. They said there had been more activity by users and Facebook groups to coordinate potentially violent actions over issues such as voter fraud. President Trump has falsely claimed on social media and in remarks from the White House over the past few days that the election was being “stolen” from him, even while a final result remained unclear.

The changes would be some of the most significant steps taken by Facebook, which has in the past tried to make sharing information as easy as possible so that it can increase engagement on its site. The moves would most likely be temporary, said the people with knowledge of them, and were designed to cool down angry Americans who are clashing on the network.

“As vote counting continues, we are seeing more reports of inaccurate claims about the election,” Facebook said in a statement. As a result, it said, it is “taking additional temporary steps.”

Facebook has been more proactive about clamping down on misinformation in recent months,



BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A crowd gathered on Wednesday outside a facility in Detroit where votes were being counted.

even as its chief executive, Mark Zuckerberg, has said he does not want to be the arbiter of truth. The company prepared for months for the election. It ran through dozens of possibilities of what might happen on Nov. 3 and afterward in

An effort to cool down angry Americans clashing online.

case political candidates or others tried to use the platform to delegitimize the results. The new measures were part of this planning, the people said.

This week, Facebook also suspended political advertising for an indefinite period, and introduced notifications at the top of the News Feed that said no winner had been called in the election.

Other social media companies have also made changes to slow down the way information flows on their networks and to highlight accurate information on their sites. Twitter, which Mr. Trump uses as a megaphone, had labeled

38 percent of his 29 tweets and retweets since early Tuesday with warnings that said he made misleading claims about the electoral process, according to a tally by The New York Times. Last month, Twitter also made it more arduous for people to retweet posts or share links to articles that users had not yet read.

TikTok said it was broadening its fact-checking partnerships for election disinformation, and was updating its policy to better represent what types of content are not allowed on the app. YouTube has used its home page to show people accurate information about the election.

Republicans and Democrats have long criticized Facebook and Mr. Zuckerberg for their stance on misinformation. Mr. Trump and other Republicans have accused Facebook of suppressing and censoring conservative speech, while Democrats have railed against the tech companies for not doing enough to clean up the glut of toxic online misinformation.

On Thursday, as part of a heightened campaign against election-related disinformation and calls to violence, the company also took down a new Facebook group, Stop the Steal, which had more than 320,000 members.

Facebook said that the group had been “organized around the delegitimization of the election process,” and that a number of the group's members had originated calls for real-world violence.

Some of Facebook's new measures have precedents. In June, the company added more context about the coronavirus and highlighted accurate information about Covid-19 from health authorities, to prevent falsehoods about it from spreading. WhatsApp and Messenger, two messaging apps owned by Facebook, have capped the number of times a message can be forwarded and have limited reshares of private messages to a maximum of five people.

Stop the Steal Gets Booted Off Facebook

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
they traveled onto Twitter, YouTube and right-wing sites that cited the unsubstantiated and inaccurate posts as evidence of an illegitimate voting process.

Stop the Steal's rapid rise and amplifying effects also showed how Facebook groups are a powerful tool for seeding and accelerating online movements, including those filled with misinformation. Facebook groups, which are public and can be joined by anyone with a Facebook account, have long been the nerve centers for fringe movements such as QAnon and anti-vaccination activists. And while Stop the Steal has been deleted, other Facebook groups promoting falsehoods about voter fraud have popped up.

“Facebook groups are powerful infrastructure for organizing,” said Renee DiResta, a disinformation researcher at the Stanford Internet Observatory. She added that the Stop the Steal Facebook group helped people coalesce around a baseless belief that the election was being unlawfully taken from Mr. Trump.

Tom Reynolds, a Facebook spokesman, said the social network removed the Stop the Steal group as part of the “exceptional measures” it was taking on the election. “The group was organized around the delegitimization of the election process, and we saw worrying calls for violence from some members of the group,” he said.

Stop the Steal was born on Facebook on Wednesday at 3 p.m. as the outcome of the presidential election remained uncertain. About 12 hours earlier, as the vote counts showed a tight race between Mr. Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr., Mr. Trump had posted without evidence on Facebook and Twitter that “They are trying to STEAL the Election.” Mr. Trump has since repeated that assertion openly in remarks from the White House and on social media.

The idea of a stolen election quickly spread among Mr. Trump's supporters, including to a Facebook user named Kylie Jane Kremer. Ms. Kremer, 30, a former Tea Party activist, runs a conservative nonprofit called Women for America First. She created the Stop the Steal Facebook group.

In an interview on Thursday from a protest in Atlanta, Ms. Kremer said she had started the Facebook group after speaking with conservative activists and seeing social media posts about voter fraud. She said she wanted to help organize people across the United States on the issue and centralize discussions over protests and rallies.

“I knew other people saw this the same as I did, that there were people out there trying to steal the election from the rightful person,” Ms. Kremer said, referring to Mr. Trump. “I wanted us to be



GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protesters at a Stop the Steal rally in Harrisburg, Pa., on Thursday.

able to organize to take action.”

Once the Facebook group was live, she said, it took off. Hundreds of members joined within the first hour. Then people began sharing videos — including the one showing people chanting “stop the count” in Detroit — and photographs, which were quickly shared to other Facebook pages and groups.

“It was like lightning in a bottle,” Ms. Kremer said. “The group grew so fast we were struggling to keep up with the people trying to post.”

Many of the posts shared anecdotal stories claiming voter fraud or intimidation against Mr. Trump's supporters. One post as-

name Ali Akbar, also tweeted dozens of times about the Stop the Steal movement to his 140,000 Twitter followers.

Their messages, which were shared thousands of times, were a rallying cry for people to join the Stop the Steal Facebook group and take action in local protests against voter fraud.

“In just it's first couple hours, more than 100,000 people joined the Women for America First, Stop the Steal Facebook Group,” wrote Mr. Posobiec. In comments below his post, many people cheered the Facebook group's popularity.

The tweets helped send more people to Stop the Steal. Interactions with the Facebook group soared to 36 posts a minute on Thursday morning, up from roughly one post a minute, according to CrowdTangle data.

Mr. Posobiec, Mr. Alexander and Amy Kremer did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

At Facebook, executives were notified of the group by Facebook moderators as they began flagging posts for potential calls for violence and protests to disrupt the vote. The company also received calls from journalists about the group and its explosive growth. By midmorning, executives were discussing whether they should remove Stop the Steal, said one employee involved in the discussions who was not authorized to speak publicly.

Facebook took down the group on Thursday at 2 p.m.

Ms. Kremer said that she was angry that Facebook had removed her group and that she was in discussions with the company to reinstate it. She accused Facebook, along with other social media companies, of censoring the Stop the Steal movement.

“Facebook had other options,” she said. “They were flagging our posts and we could have worked with them. But this is what they do, they censor.”

Still, Ms. Kremer said that before the group was taken down, its members had successfully organized events in dozens of cities. She has set up another website about voter fraud and was now directing people to it, she said.

On Facebook, dozens of new Stop the Steal groups have been created since the company removed Ms. Kremer's group. One had nearly 10,000 members. Another had just over 2,000.

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, HOUSTON DIVISION In re: Chapter 11 Case No. 20-32564 (DRU) Debtors. (Jointly Administered) NOTICE OF (A) ENTRY OF ORDER CONFIRMING THE JOINT SECOND AMENDED CHAPTER 11 PLAN OF STAGE STORES, INC. AND SPECIALTY RETAILERS, INC., AND (B) OCCURRENCE OF EFFECTIVE DATE TO ALL CREDITORS, INTEREST HOLDERS, AND OTHER PARTIES IN INTEREST: PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on August 14, 2020, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas (the “Bankruptcy Court”), entered an order (Docket No. 705) (the “Confirmation Order”) confirming the Joint Second Amended Chapter 11 Plan of Stage Stores, Inc. and Specialty Retailers, Inc. (Docket No. 688) (with all supplements and exhibits thereto, the “Plan”), attached as Exhibit A to the Confirmation Order. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Effective Date of the Plan occurred on October 30, 2020. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that pursuant to Article V.F. of the Plan, unless otherwise provided by a Final Order of the Bankruptcy Court, all Proofs of Claim with respect to Claims arising from the rejection of Executory Contracts or Unexpired Leases, pursuant to the Plan or the Confirmation Order (if any, must be filed with the Bankruptcy Court within 30 days after the later of (1) the date of entry of an order of the Bankruptcy Court (including the Confirmation Order) approving such rejection, (2) the effective date of such rejection, or (3) the Effective Date. Any Claims arising from the rejection of an Executory Contract or Unexpired Lease not filed with the Bankruptcy Court within such time will be automatically disallowed, forever barred from assertion, and shall not be enforceable against the Debtors or the Wind-Down Debtors, the Estates, or their property without the need for any objection, notice to the Wind-Down Debtors or their notice to, or action, order, or approval of the Bankruptcy Court or any other Entity, and any Claim arising out of the rejection of the Executory Contract or Unexpired Lease shall be deemed fully satisfied and raised, notwithstanding anything in the Schedules or a Proof of Claim to the contrary. All Allowed Claims arising from the rejection of the Debtors' Executory Contracts or Unexpired Leases shall be classified as General Unsecured Claims. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that, except with respect to Administrative Claims that are Professional Fee Claims or as otherwise

set forth in the Plan, requests for payment of an Allowed Administrative Claim other than requests for payment of Administrative Claims arising in the ordinary course of business must be filed with the Bankruptcy Court no later than: (a) 30 days after the Confirmation Date with respect to Claims that arose before the Confirmation Date; (b) 30 days after the Effective Date with respect to Claims that arose on or after the Confirmation Date; but not later than the Effective Date; (c) the Administrative Claims Bar Dates. HOLDERS OF ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIMS THAT ARE REQUIRED TO, BUT DO NOT, FILE AND SERVE A REQUEST FOR PAYMENT OF SUCH ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIMS BY SUCH DATES SHALL BE FOREVER BARRED, STOPPED, AND ENJOINED FROM ASSERTING SUCH ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIMS AGAINST THE DEBTORS OR THEIR PROPERTY, AND SUCH ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIMS SHALL BE DEEMED SATISFIED, SETTLED, AND RELEASED AS OF THE EFFECTIVE DATE. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that, unless otherwise ordered by the Bankruptcy Court, all final requests for payment of Professional Fee Claims must be filed with the Bankruptcy Court no later than 45 days after the Effective Date. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the terms of the Plan, the Plan Supplement, and the Confirmation Order shall be immediately effective and enforceable and deemed binding upon the Debtors or the Reorganized Debtors, as applicable, and any and all Holders of Claims or Interests (regardless of whether such Claims or Interests are deemed to have accepted or rejected the Plan), all Entities that are parties to or are subject to the settlements, compromises, releases, and injunctions described in the Plan, each Entity acquiring property under the Plan, the Confirmation Order and any and all non-Debtor parties to Executory Contracts and Unexpired Leases with the Debtors. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Plan, the Plan Supplement, the Confirmation Order, and all documents filed in these chapter 11 cases are available free of charge by visiting <http://www.kcdcllc.net/StageStores> or by calling (888) 647-1732 for the U.S. Canada, or (310) 751-2622 for international callers. You may also obtain copies of any pleadings by visiting the Court's website at <https://ecf.txsb.uscourts.gov> in accordance with the procedures and fees set forth therein. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS NOTICE, PLEASE CONTACT KURTZMAN CARSON CONSULTANTS, LLC BY CALLING (310) 751-2622. The Debtors in these chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of each Debtor's federal tax identification number, are: Stage Stores, Inc. (69000) and Specialty Retailers, Inc. (19000). The Debtors' service address is: 7266 Meyerland Plaza Mall, 2nd Floor, Suite 200, Houston, Texas 77069. Capitalized terms not otherwise defined herein have the meanings ascribed to them in the Plan or the Confirmation Order, as applicable.

COMMERCIAL
REAL ESTATE
BUSINESS
OPPORTUNITIES

OFFICE
SPACE

(100)

Professional Offices
Brooklyn

183

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room, reception area, 2 bthrms, approx.
2,000 sq ft, \$2,300. NO FEE. 718-436-4422.

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INDUSTRIAL
PROPERTIES

(300)

New Jersey

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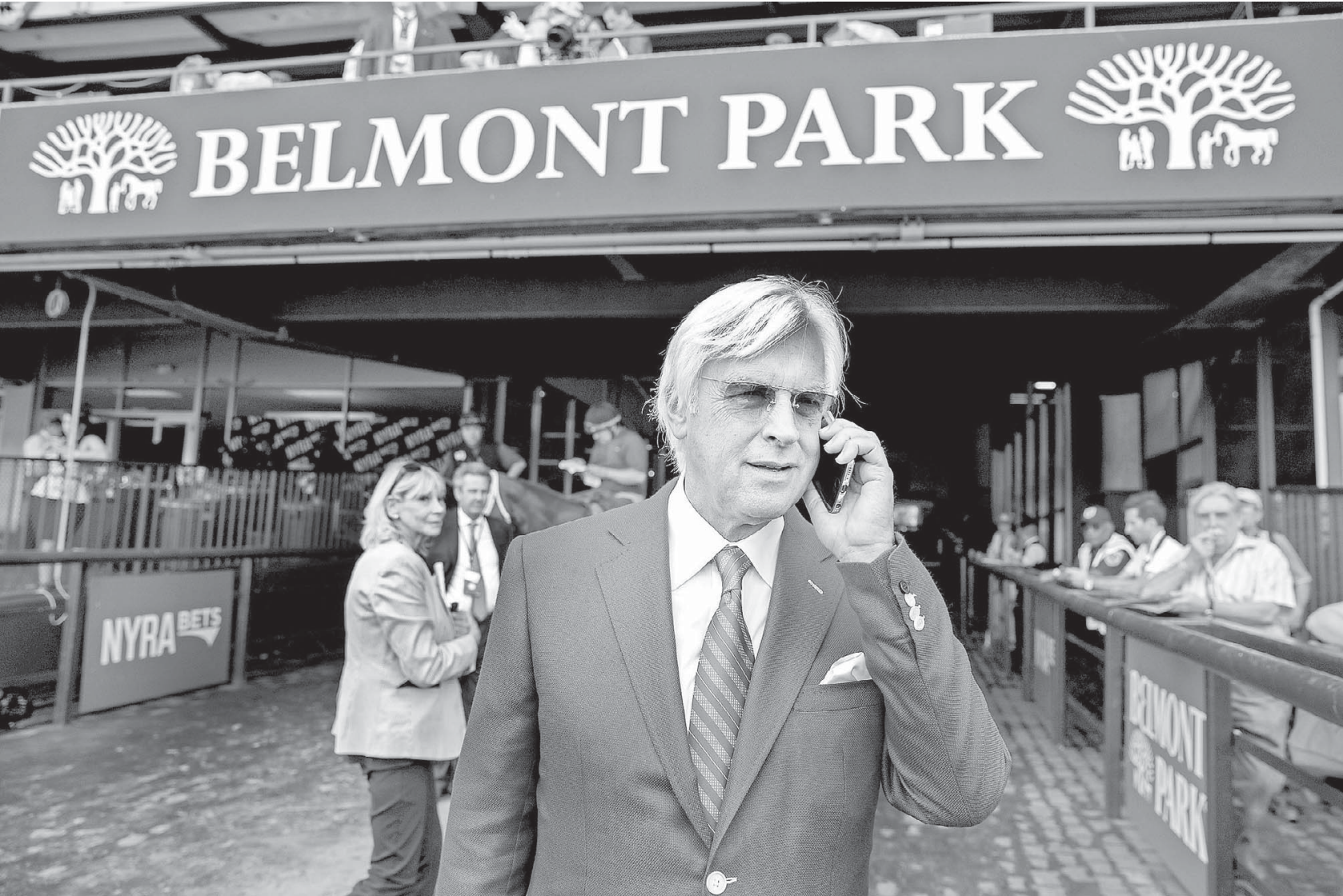
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The New York Times

‘The overmedication of racehorses is cultural and needs a course correction.’

JIM GAGLIANO, president and chief operating officer of the Jockey Club.



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bob Baffert at the 2018 Belmont Stakes, where Justify, a horse he trained, won the third jewel in the Triple Crown although he had failed a drug test earlier.

Baffert Enters Breeders’ Cup Trailed by Suspicion

By JOE DRAPE

In 1976, a part-time college student and fledgling trainer named Bob Baffert gave one of his horses a banned substance — partly out of ignorance, he wrote in an autobiography, and partly out of desperation to win. After the horse tested positive for morphine, Baffert was summoned to Sacramento by California regulators.

“They told me what I did was very serious, but I seemed like a nice kid,” Baffert wrote in “Baffert: Dirt Road to the Derby,” his 1999 autobiography. “So they suspended me for a year, and made it retroactive. I had already done six months and I really didn’t care. I was going to school and wasn’t training anyway. I just wanted to get all this over with.”

Forty-four years later, Baffert is the most decorated trainer in American horse racing. Like Lance Armstrong in cycling, he has dominated his sport, winning the Kentucky Derby six times and sweeping the Triple Crown twice in the last five years. And like Armstrong, Baffert has gained the enmity of rivals who believe that he has persistently cheated, suspicions fueled by the 29 drug tests failed by his horses over the four decades, including four in the past six months.

The cases took months, if not years, to adjudicate and were met mostly with modest fines or brief suspensions, as Baffert asserted he did nothing wrong and blamed the results on environmental contamination or human error.

He declined to be interviewed, but on Wednesday, facing mounting criticism, he apologized for the violations and promised to be more vigilant in the future.

“I am very aware of the several incidents this year concerning my horses and the impact it has had on my family, horse racing, and me,” Baffert said in a statement. “I want to have a positive influence on the sport of horse racing. Horses have been my life and I owe everything to them and the tremendous sport in which I have been so fortunate to be involved.”

Still, ahead of the season-ending Breeders’ Cup World Championships this weekend, horse racing’s leaders again must defend a culture in which performance-enhancing and painkilling drugs, combined with lax state regulations, undermine the credibility of the sport, one of America’s oldest, and threaten the well-being of the animals who define it.

Baffert will saddle a powerful contingent of high-priced horses from some of the world’s deepest pocketed owners at the Breeders’ Cup, to be held at Keeneland Race Course in Lexington, Ky. Among them is Gamine, considered one of the favorites to win the \$1 million Filly & Mare Sprint race. She has failed two recent drug tests — one in May and another after finishing third in the prestigious Kentucky Oaks in September.

In the \$6 million Classic, the premier race of the Breeders’ Cup, Baffert will send out

Horse racing’s top U.S. trainer comes into the race with four failed drug tests in six months.

the three favorites, including Maximum Security, whose previous trainer, Jason Servis, was one of 30 people involved in the sport who was indicted this spring by federal prosecutors on doping charges.

The leaders of the Breeders’ Cup, a Super Bowl of sorts for horseplayers, have been loud proponents of drug-free racing, but they have declined to ban Baffert from the event.

In fact, seven of its 14 board members employ Baffert as their trainer. Two of them, Gavin Murphy of SF Bloodstock, which is associated with the billionaire George Soros, and Elliott Walden, president of Win-Star Farm, will send out a horse named Improbable as the favorite in the Classic.

None of the seven responded to phone calls and emails to comment on their business arrangements with Baffert.

“While these most recent charges are being adjudicated, Bob Baffert is not under suspension in any jurisdiction in the U.S., is not in violation of any Kentucky regulations or any existing Breeders’ Cup rules, and, as of now, is not prohibited from participating in the 2020 Breeders’ Cup World Championships,” Drew Fleming, the organization’s president and chief executive officer, said in a statement.

The failure to act has angered some prominent players in the sport.

Until owners stop sending him horses “they will continue to be part of the problem. It’s a joke that isn’t funny,” tweeted Daisy Phipps Pulito, whose family has been among the most distinguished breeders and owners in the sport for generations.

In 2011, another well-known trainer, Rick Dutrow, who won the 2008 Kentucky Derby and Preakness Stakes with Big Brown, was punished for doping violations similar to Baffert’s. He was banned from racing in the United States for 10 years.

Ed Martin, the president of the Association of Racing Commissioners Interna-

tional, had asked New York regulators to review Dutrow’s license. “How many so-called honest mistakes can one have,” he wrote to the regulators, “before you question whether there has been a total disregard for adherence to the rules?”

Some of the test results have come after prominent finishes.

The Baffert horse Merneith finished second in a race near San Diego on July 25 and was found to have excessive amounts of Dextrophan in her blood or urine after the race. Baffert said a member of his staff was sick with Covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus, and was taking cough syrup that contained Dextrophan, though he did not offer an explanation for how it got in the horse.

In May, Gamine and a colt named Charlantan, who won a division of the Arkansas Derby, tested positive for lidocaine, a numbing agent. Baffert, who was suspended for 15 days by Arkansas regulators, said his assistant was wearing a pain patch for a bad back and had inadvertently contaminated the horses.

In Kentucky, Gamine tested positive for betamethasone, a corticosteroid injected into joints to reduce pain and swelling. If the test result is upheld, the owners of Gamine will have to forfeit the \$120,000 she earned for finishing third in the Oaks.

The day after Gamine failed the Oaks drug test, Baffert won his sixth Derby, with the colt Authentic, and tied Ben Jones for the most victories in the race.

Many in the sport believe that horse racing can no longer make promises to do better or police itself if it is to survive.

“The overmedication of racehorses is cultural and needs a course correction,” Jim Gagliano, the president and chief operating officer of the Jockey Club, the oldest horse-racing organization in the U.S., said recently.

To that end, the Jockey Club and others in

the industry have supported the Horseracing Integrity and Safety Act, a federal bill that would give the United States Anti-Doping Agency, which revealed Armstrong’s cheating and issued a lifetime suspension in 2012, the authority to create a regulatory plan with meaningful penalties to clean up the sport. It has been approved by the House of Representatives and has bipartisan support in the Senate, where it is expected to come to a vote within the next few weeks.

The ultimate goal of the legislation is to establish uniform national regulations and independent oversight in a sport that is fractiously governed and notorious for conflicts of interests.

Last year, The New York Times reported that Justify — also trained by Baffert — had failed a drug test after winning the 2018 Santa Anita Derby in Southern California. The rule at the time required that Justify be disqualified, forfeiting both his prize money and preventing his entry into the Kentucky Derby a month later.

The California Horse Racing Board’s chairman at the time, Chuck Winner, had previously employed Baffert to train his horses. Justify’s failed test was investigated for four months, allowing the horse to keep competing long enough to win not only the Derby, but also the Preakness and the Belmont Stakes to become the 13th Triple Crown winner.

In August 2018, after Justify’s breeding rights had been sold for \$60 million, the racing board ruled that the failed test was the result of environmental contamination and disposed of the inquiry altogether during a rare closed-door session.

Last week, as part of settlement of a lawsuit brought against the racing board by the owner of the second-place finisher, Bolt d’Oro, California regulators heard testimony that will help them decide whether to erase Justify’s Santa Anita Derby win and force his owners to forfeit the \$600,000 first-place check.

“What makes this case remarkable is how a cabal within the C.H.R.B. sought to ensure the secrecy of the positive test by treating Bob differently from other trainers,” said Carlo Fisco, a lawyer for Mick Ruis, Bolt d’Oro’s trainer. “No trainer, no matter how successful, should be treated differently.”

In the meantime, said Barry Irwin, founder of the Team Valor International stable, the sport suffers. His partnership captured the 2011 Kentucky Derby with Animal Kingdom and has won other prestigious races across the country. Now, however, Team Valor is racing predominantly in Europe.

“The only way I come back is if I see that the legislation bears fruit,” Irwin said in an interview. “Our goal is to win the biggest races. What ran me out is that they have become difficult to win because of the cheats.”



EMMA HOWELLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

BASEBALL

As M.L.B. Looks to 2021, Uncertainty Has an Early Lead

By JAMES WAGNER

When Julio Urias struck out Willy Adames of the Tampa Bay Rays to secure the World Series title for the Los Angeles Dodgers last week, it capped an arduous achievement for baseball.

There were months of bitter negotiations between Major League Baseball and the players' union over the structure and finances of a season played during a pandemic without fans in the stands. There were coronavirus outbreaks within the Miami Marlins and St. Louis Cardinals organizations early in the season that almost jeopardized the truncated, 60-game schedule. There was a strengthening of the health and safety protocols that helped ensure the completion of the regular season and the expanded 16-team postseason. And there was painful belt tightening in an industry that lost billions of dollars.

Now comes an even taller task: doing it all over again in 2021, with a much longer season and continued uncertainty surrounding the virus.

"There's a lot that we'll need to work out," Tony Clark, the executive director of the players' union, said in a phone interview this week. Dan Halem, M.L.B.'s deputy commissioner, added, "There's a lot of contingencies that we're going to have to plan for because there's no one at the moment that knows what '21 is going to look like."

Before the World Series ended, Clark said, the union began what he called an informal dialogue with M.L.B. about next season. Not only are there baseball matters to sort out — such as the potential continuation of the expanded playoffs and the universal designated hitter — but health and economic ones, too.

All of this will happen against the backdrop of fragile labor relations, fears of a brutal market for players this off-season and slashed payrolls next season. On Dec. 1, 2021, the collective bargaining agreement between team owners and players is set to expire.

"Having a conversation that works through the issues that does not play out publicly is to everyone's benefit," Clark said, alluding to the contentious discussions ahead of the 2020 season.

For now, M.L.B. and the players' union have a foundation for the 2021 season. A traditional slate of spring training games starting in February and a 162-game regular season starting on April 1 were announced earlier this year. Any changes, like those made to the 2020 season amid a national emergency, are subject to discussions



CHARLES REX ARBOGAST/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Major League Baseball navigated a 60-game season in 2020 with a few isolated interruptions.

between both sides.

"My hope is that there's a sense of normalcy to 2021," Clark said. In a phone interview this week, Halem added, "Right now, we're planning for a normal season."

But so much can change between now and when pitchers and catchers are expected to report to spring training in Florida and Arizona. "Everything we plan for has to be subject to the circumstances that exist, when we're about to start, vis-à-vis Covid," said Halem, who oversees the league's labor negotiations.

Among the questions Halem said were on baseball's mind: While positive cases are surging to record levels in the United States, will that be the case come February? When will a vaccine arrive? Would players have access to it before spring training? Before the regular season? What contingencies will the sides plan for over a longer season? What changes will they make to their extensive health and safety operations manual, which outlined the every-other-day testing program for players and on-field staff members?

"It's hard to make decisions because nobody really has concrete information yet," Halem said. "Hopefully each month we'll get a little more and more information about what next year may look like."

Everything about a longer season is more difficult, Halem said. So many things had to go right, from testing deliveries to individual responsibility, to pull off the 60-game regular season. Now multiply that by nearly three. Playing more games means more

chances for infection, and potentially more games to postpone to a finite number of off days should positive cases arise.

Halem and Clark said the lessons learned from the 2020 season will help M.L.B. and the players' union plan for the challenges of next year. Until Dodgers third baseman Justin Turner learned he had tested positive for the coronavirus during the final game of the World Series — and left his mandated isolation to celebrate the championship with his teammates on the field — there hadn't been a positive case among base-

What can go wrong? Money. Covid. Labor talks. And money.

ball players for nearly two months.

"There was a physical toll as well as a mental toll on all of those involved, which is going to be important to take into account moving forward," Clark said. "As it relates to protocols, appreciating what we knew back in March, April and May versus what we learned in July, August and September is all going to be beneficial."

But the economics of the sport could, again, be a major source of tension between M.L.B. and the players' union.

For months ahead of the 2020 season, team owners and players vehemently and publicly dis-

agreed over the length and compensation of the season. Owners wanted players to take a larger pay cut because nearly 40 percent of the league's revenue came from ticket sales and attendance-related income. (Fans were not allowed in until the neutral-site National League Championship Series and World Series in Texas.) Players held firm to a March agreement that called for pro-rated salaries.

Ultimately, Rob Manfred, the league's commissioner, imposed the 2020 schedule, which began on July 23. This preserved the players' right to file a grievance, which was expected this off-season. So for the 2021 season, how many games will actually be played? Will there be fans in attendance in all 30 stadiums, and at what capacity in which municipalities? Will players be asked to take a pay cut as a result? How much can owners budget for ahead of an uncertain 2021? Can the sides work out a short-term extension of the expiring C.B.A.?

"There's just a lot of unknowns," Clark said. "You anticipate there being an opportunity to work through them. Our players look forward to that conversation happening."

By some measures, the industry's financial prognosis is still strong. Despite the pandemic, the Dodgers signed the star outfielder Mookie Betts to a \$365 million contract extension before the season. Turner Sports and M.L.B. struck a TV rights extension deal worth about \$3.7 billion in September. And the Mets' sale to a hedge fund manager, Steven A. Cohen, for \$2.4 billion is nearly complete.

But there are mounting signs that owners — some of whom have large fixed costs, like stadium payments, no matter the season's length — may ask their employees to share more of the burden. Manfred has said M.L.B.'s 30 clubs have taken on more debt and suffered about \$3 billion in operating losses this year.

John Mozeliak, the Cardinals' president, told reporters that the team's 2021 payroll was likely to drop. In a letter to season-ticket holders after the season ended, the Colorado Rockies owner Dick Monfort wrote: "It will take time to rebound, and in some cases, these losses will never be recovered. As a result, there will be nothing normal about this off-season as the industry faces a new economic reality, and each club will have to adjust."

Hundreds of nonplaying employees across the sport have had their pay cut, been laid off or furloughed. In this off-season, more than 30 players — such as Cleveland's Brad Hand, who led the major leagues in saves — had their 2021 team options declined. Players and agents fear that a larger than usual number of players eligible for salary arbitration will be cut loose by teams.

Clark, whose union has been skeptical of the league's accounting in the past, said that this off-season's market "will really distinguish ownership groups that want to compete and grow their fan bases and ensure the long-term well-being of their franchises from those who are willing to continue to sacrifice winning in order to maximize the short term."

Clark also said that while debt could be a "scary word and proposition" for individuals, it was a tool for corporations, particularly during an economic downturn when interest rates are low. He added, "So while I appreciate the assertions that have been made, we don't accept them at face value."

In response, Halem said that M.L.B., like any businesses that relies on public gatherings, has had its "normal economics" upended by the pandemic.

"Everyone associated with baseball is unfortunately feeling the effects of that," he added. "We view the players as partners in our business, and this season was only possible because of productive collaboration between teams and players. We look forward to having positive dialogue with the players about how, together, we can take the field again in 2021 in a way that prioritizes health and safety and puts the industry in the strongest financial position possible for the future."

SCOREBOARD

FOOTBALL

N.F.L. STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

	East	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Buffalo		6	2	0	750	198	199
Miami		4	3	0	571	188	130
N. England		1	0	0	266	136	187
Jets		0	8	0	000	94	238
	South	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Indianapolis		5	2	0	714	198	136
Tennessee		5	2	0	714	208	184
Houston		1	6	0	143	166	217
Jacksonville		1	6	0	143	154	220
	North	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Pittsburgh		7	0	0	123	211	142
Baltimore		5	2	0	714	203	132
Cleveland		3	3	0	625	206	237
Cincinnati		2	5	1	313	194	214
	West	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Kansas City		7	0	0	875	253	152
Las Vegas		4	3	0	571	187	203
Denver		3	4	0	429	147	183
L.A. Chargers		2	5	0	286	179	185

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

	East	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Phila.		3	4	1	438	186	205
Washington		2	5	0	286	133	165
Dallas		2	6	0	125	155	260
Giants		1	7	0	000	154	220
	South	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Tampa Bay		6	2	0	750	247	165
New Orleans		5	2	0	714	206	197
Carolina		3	5	0	375	179	193
Atlanta		2	6	0	250	203	224
	North	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Green Bay		5	3	0	625	161	166
Detroit		3	4	0	429	177	206
Minnesota		2	5	0	286	183	214
	West	West	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Seattle		6	0	0	857	240	199
Arizona		1	7	0	143	203	146
L.A. Rams		3	3	0	625	193	152
San Fran.		4	0	0	500	208	173

Thursday, Nov. 5

	Green Bay at San Francisco
Sunday, Nov. 8	
Giants at Washington, 1	
Baltimore at Indianapolis, 1	
Carolina at Kansas City, 1	
Chicago at Tennessee, 1	
Denver at Atlanta, 1	
Detroit at Minnesota, 1	
Houston at Jacksonville, 1	
Seattle at Buffalo, 1	
Las Vegas at L.A. Chargers, 4:05	
Miami at Arizona, 4:25	
Pittsburgh at Dallas, 4:25	
San Diego at Tampa Bay, 8:20	
Open: Cincinnati, Cleveland, L.A. Rams, Philadelphia	

SOCCER

M.L.S. STANDINGS

	East	West	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
x-Philadelphia		13	4	5	44	42	20
x-Toronto FC		13	4	5	44	32	24
x-Chicago		13	3	3	41	38	21
x-Columbus		11	6	5	38	34	20
x-N.Y.C.F.C.		11	8	3	36	33	22
x-New England		8	6	8	32	26	23
x-New York		8	9	2	28	23	20
x-Nashville		7	8	9	29	21	20
Montreal		7	13	2	23	30	41
Chicago		5	9	8	23	30	35
Atlanta		6	12	4	22	23	29
Inter Miami CF		7	13	3	23	34	34
D.C. United		5	11	6	21	23	38
Cincinnati		4	14	4	16	11	34

WEST

x-Kansas City	.11	6	3	36	36	25
x-Seattle	.10	5	6	36	40	22
x-FC Dallas	.09	5	7	34	28	21
x-Los Angeles FC	.09	8	4	31	46	38
x-Minnesota	.08	5	7	31	33	26
x-San Jose	.08	8	6	30	34	47
x-Colorado	.07	6	4	25	30	30
Vancouver	.08	14	0	24	24	44
L.A. Galaxy	.06	11	4	22	27	43
Real Salt Lake	.05	9	7	22	25	33
Houston	.04	9	9	21	29	38
x-clinched playoff berth						

x=Injured player berth

Sunday, Nov. 8

N.Y.C.F.C. at Chicago, 3:30 p.m.	
Toronto FC at Red Bulls, 3:30 p.m.	
Atlanta at Columbus, 3:30 p.m.	
Montreal at D.C. United, 3:30 p.m.	
Cincinnati at Miami, 3:30 p.m.	
Nashville at Orlando City, 3:30 p.m.	
New England at Philadelphia, 3:30 p.m.	
Colorado at Houston, 6:30 p.m.	
Portland at Los Angeles FC, 6:30 p.m.	
FC Dallas at Minnesota, 6:30 p.m.	
Kansas City at Real Salt Lake, 6:30 p.m.	
San Jose at Seattle, 6:30 p.m.	
L.A. Galaxy at Vancouver, 6:30 p.m.	

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE

	Team	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Liverpool		7	5	1	1	17	15	16
Leicester		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tottenham		7	4	2	1	18	9	14
Everton		7	4	1	2	15	11	13
Southampton		7	4	1	2	14	12	13
West Hampton		7	4	1	2	14	12	13
Chelsea		7	3	3	1	16	9	12
Aston Villa		6	4	0	2	15	9	12
Arsenal		7	4	0	3	9	7	12
Man City		6	3	2	1	9	8	11
Newcastle		7	3	2	2	10	11	11
Leeds		7	3	1	3	13	13	10
Crystal Palace		7	3	1	3	8	11	10
West Ham		7	2	2	3	13	10	8
Man United		6	1	3	2	9	13	7
Brighton		7	1	2	4	11	14	5
Fulham		7	1	5	7	14	4	4
West Brom		7	0	3	4	6	16	3
Sheffield United		7	0	3	4	6	16	3
Burnley		6	0	1	5	3	12	1

Friday, Nov. 6

Brighton vs. Burnley	
Southampton vs. Newcastle	
Everton vs. Man United	
Crystal Palace vs. Leeds	
Chelsea vs. Sheffield United	
West Ham vs. Fulham	

TENNIS

PARIS MASTERS

	AT Palais Omnisports de Paris-Bercy
Paris	
Men's Singles, Round of 16	
Diego Schwartzman (6), Argentina, d. Alejandro Davidovich Fokina, Spain, 6-1, 6-1	
Milos Raonic (10), Canada, d. Marcos Giron, United States, 7-6 (1), 6-2	
Daniil Medvedev (3), Russia, d. Alex de Minaur (16), Australia, 5-7, 6-2, 6-2	
Ugo Humbert, France, d. Marin Cilic, Croatia, 6-3, 6-7 (6), 6-3	
Pablo Carreno Busta (9), Spain, d. Norbert Gombos, Slovakia, 7-5, 6-2	
Rafael Nadal (1), Spain, d. Jordan Thompson, Australia, 6-1, 7-6 (3), Alexander Zverev (4), Germany, d. Adrian Panarino, France, 7-6 (1), 6-7 (7), 6-4	
Stan Wawrinka (12), Switzerland, vs. Andrey Rublev (5), Russia, 1-6, 6-4, 6-3.	

GOLF

HOUSTON OPEN

	At Memorial Park Golf Course
Houston, Texas	
Purse: \$7 million; Yardage: 7,432; Par: 72	
First Round	
Brandt Snedeker	 32-33=65 -6
Cameron Davis	 31-36=67 -3
Michael Thompson	 32-35=67 -3
Scottie Scheffler	 32-35=67 -3
Harold Varner III	 31-36=67 -3
Charles Oltz	 32-35=67 -3
Jason Day	 34-34=68 -2
Adam Long	 33-35=68 -2
Kevin Streelman	 35-33=68 -2
Sam Burns	 35-33=68 -2
Taylor Gooch	 34-34=68 -2
Sepp Straka	 32-36=68 -2
Scott Piercy	 34-34=68 -2
Adam Scott	 31-37=68 -2
Greg Chalmers	 35-33=68 -2

TRANSACTIONS

M.L.B.

American League	
BALTIMORE ORIOLES — Acquired INFs A.J. Griffin and Greg Cullen from Atlanta to complete the Aug. 30 trade for LHP Jacob deGrom.	
National League	
PHILADELPHIA PHILLIES — Acquired RHP Rodolfo Sanchez from Tampa Bay to complete the Aug. 18 Edgar Garcia trade.	

BALTIMORE RAVENS — Activated OLB Buffalo Judon from the reserve/COVID-19 list.	
BUFFALO BILLS — Activated TE Dawson Knox from the reserve/COVID-19 list.	
GREEN BAY PACKERS — Promoted S Henry Black, CB Stanford Samuels and RB Dexter Williams to the active roster as COVID-19 replacements. Promoted G Ben Braden to the active roster from practice squad.	
LAS VEGAS RAIDERS — Activated CB Damon Arnette to return from injured reserve. Placed OT Trent Brown on the reserve/COVID-19 list. Promoted RB Theo Riddick to the active roster.	
SAN FRANCISCO 49ERS — Promoted G Tony Bergstrom and RB Austin Walter from the practice squad to the active roster. Activated WR Pierre River Cracraft and Kevin White, S Johnathan Cyprien, TE Daniel Helm to the active roster. Signed DT Josiah Coates to the practice squad. Released WR Chris Firkie. Activated TE Jordan Reed from injured reserve. Placed CB Jimmy Garoppolo and TE George Kittle on injured reserve.	
MIAMI DOLPHINS — Placed RB Myles Gaskin on injured reserve.	

ESPN Will Cut 300 Workers, Most of Them in Broadcast Production

By KEVIN DRAPER

ESPN will lay off 300 employees, about 6 percent of its worldwide staff, and let 200 open positions go unfilled, Jimmy Pitaro, the network's chairman, told employees in a memo on Thursday.

"Prior to the pandemic, we had been deeply engaged in strategizing how best to position ESPN for future success amidst tremendous disruption in how fans consume sports," Pitaro wrote in a memo obtained by The New York Times. "The pandemic's significant impact on our business clearly accelerated those forward-looking discussions."

The cuts will affect most divisions across the company, but are concentrated in broadcast production.

E.S. Reddy, 96, Leader Of the U.N.'s Campaign Against Apartheid, Dies

By SAM ROBERTS

E.S. Reddy, an Indian-born acolyte of Gandhi who spearheaded efforts at the United Nations to end apartheid in South Africa, died on Sunday in Cambridge, Mass. He was 96.

His death was announced by President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa, who hailed Mr. Reddy's "commitment to human rights" and his epitomizing "social solidarity."

From 1963 to 1984, Mr. Reddy oversaw the U.N.'s efforts against apartheid first as principal secretary of the Special Committee Against Apartheid and then as director of the Center Against Apartheid.

He campaigned for boycotts and other economic sanctions against the white South African government, which segregated

An acolyte of Gandhi pushed for boycotts of South Africa.

and oppressed Black people and subordinated the country's large population of Indian immigrants.

He also lobbied relentlessly for the release of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned anti-apartheid leader who was finally freed in 1990 and then elected South Africa's first Black head of state four years later.

"There is no one at the United Nations who has done more to expose the injustices of apartheid and the illegality of the South African regime than he has," Sean MacBride, a former U.N. commissioner for Namibia and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, said of Mr. Reddy in 1985.

In a 2004 interview for the book "No Easy Victories" (2007), Mr. Reddy, influenced by Gandhi's strategy of nonviolent resistance to India's British colonial rulers, explained the genesis of his interest in South Africa:

"I was already interested in the anti-apartheid movement in the 1940s, when the struggle in South Africa took on new forms and Indi-

ans and Africans were cooperating in the struggle. During the Second World War, the United States and Britain talked about four freedoms in the Atlantic Charter, but those freedoms didn't apply to India or South Africa."

The vast pool of Indian contract workers who had immigrated to South Africa starting in the late 19th century had found common ground with Black citizens as another oppressed minority there. India was among the first countries to join what became an international movement to isolate South Africa through commercial and cultural boycotts, and to exert economic leverage by pressuring corporations, universities, foundations and pension funds worldwide to divest themselves of holdings in South African companies.

Mr. Reddy embraced that effort. "He had to face many obstacles and antagonisms, coming from the Western Powers mainly," Mr. MacBride said, "but he had the skill, courage and determination necessary to overcome the systematic overt and covert opposition to the liberation of the people of Southern Africa."

Enuga Sreenivasulu Reddy was born on July 1, 1925, in Pallapatti, a village in southern India about 90 miles north of Madras. His father, E.V. Narasa Reddy, ran a mining company that exported mica. His mother was a homemaker.

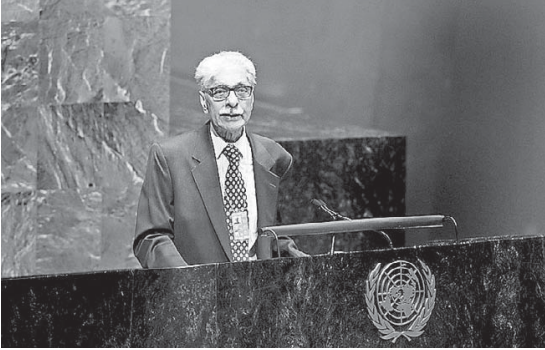
His father was jailed for participating in Gandhi's protest campaigns, and his mother sold her jewelry to raise money for Gandhi's efforts on behalf of India's lowest caste, the so-called untouchables. Enuga himself led a strike as a high school student.

After graduating from the University of Madras in 1943, he intended to earn an advanced degree in chemical engineering in Illinois, but the shortage of ships immediately after World War II delayed his arrival in the United States until the middle of the semester.

When he finally did arrive, in New York, he decided to stay in the city, deciding that he could better keep abreast of events in India from there. Having forgotten by then much of the math he had learned as an undergraduate engineering student, he switched to



YUTAKA NAGATA/U.N. PHOTO



E.S. Reddy at the U.N. in 1983 with Ernest B. Maycock of Barbados, top, and in 2012 on Nelson Mandela International Day.

political science and earned his master's degree in the subject from New York University in 1948. He continued his studies at Columbia University.

He married Nilufer Mizanoglu, a translator of the poet Nazim Hikmet. She survives him, along with their daughters, Mina Reddy and Leyla Tegmo-Reddy; four grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.

Utterly broke after a two-month U.N. internship, Mr. Reddy was hired by the then-fledgling United Nations in 1949 to conduct research as a political affairs officer.

In the late 1940s, he became active in the Council on African Affairs, a group led by Paul Robeson and W.E.B. Du Bois. It initially drew mainstream progressive support but faded after the government declared it a subversive organization in 1953 because some of its leaders had Communist ties.

By then, India had gained its freedom from the British, a moment, Mr. Reddy said, that should have been the beginning of the end of colonialism.

"I had a feeling that I did not do

enough," he said in the 2004 interview. "I did not make enough sacrifice for India's freedom, so I should compensate by doing what I can for the rest of the colonies." When he joined the U.N., he added, "that feeling was in the back of my mind."

After he retired in 1985, by then holding the title of assistant general secretary, Mr. Reddy wrote histories of the Black liberation and anti-apartheid movements and the links between India and South Africa.

He was awarded the Joliot-Curie Medal of the World Peace Council in 1982. In 2013, he received the Order of the Companions of O.R. Tambo from the South African government, an honor named for the former African National Congress president-in-exile.

When Mr. Reddy celebrated his 96th birthday last July, the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, a South African organization opposed to racism and corruption, congratulated him for a lifetime of "working tirelessly in support of the liberation movement" and "forging an unshakable bond between South Africa and his homeland, India."

Helen Lachs Ginsburg, 91; Saw a Living Wage as a Right

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

Helen Lachs Ginsburg, an economist and leading authority on full employment, or what has been called a job guarantee, died on Oct. 8 in a hospital in Queens. She was 91.

Her family said she had multiple health problems.

Dr. Ginsburg had retired as a professor of economics at Brooklyn College, where she specialized in labor and social welfare. She studied the public-policy ramifications of full employment in the United States as well as in Sweden, and she received several awards from the U.S. Department of Labor.

Full employment — defined as an economy in which anyone who wants a job can find one — has been part of the national conversation since the early 20th century.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was a strong proponent of full employment during the Depression. His hiring programs, including the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, provided significant relief for many workers, but their temporary nature made them insufficient to achieve the long-term benefits that he had hoped for.



VIA GINSBURG FAMILY

Helen Lachs Ginsburg

"Living-wage jobs as a right may seem unrealistic," Dr. Ginsburg wrote in a 2011 article, "but so once did the right of all children to go to school, the right of women to vote and the abolition of slavery."

Dr. Ginsburg was a founding member of the National Committee for Full Employment, which was led by Coretta Scott King as she carried on the quest for economic justice and equality begun by her husband, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. Ginsburg lectured around the country in the 1970s in support of the full employment legislation proposed by Augustus Hawkins,

An economist who was a top authority on full employment.

California's first Black representative in Congress, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota.

The original legislation, intended to reduce inequality and poverty, would have provided a job for everyone who wanted to work. It was a forerunner of similar proposals today, including the federal job guarantee, a \$15 minimum wage and the Green New Deal, which includes a right to living-wage work.

A watered-down version of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill was passed in 1978 and did not guarantee full employment. At that point, a disappointed Dr. Ginsburg began her study of Sweden's successful, sustained full employment policy.

It led to her book, "Full Employment and Public Policy: The U.S. and Sweden" (1983), which inspired U.S. progressives to examine the Swedish model and try to adopt parts of it.

She also co-wrote, with two authors, a 1994 manifesto on full employment, "Jobs for All: A Plan for the Revitalization of America." That work led to the creation of the National Jobs for All Coalition, now called the National Jobs for All Network, which promotes the idea that everyone capable of working has a right to a job. Dr. Ginsburg was a founding member.

"Helen Ginsburg was a model of a scholar-activist whose research and writing, always informed by her engagement in the struggle for economic justice, was an inspiration and impetus to all who carry on that struggle," Gertrude Schaffner Goldberg, chair of the National Jobs for All Network, wrote in a tribute.

Helen Lachs was born on June 25, 1929, in the Bronx. Her father, William Lachs, was a haberdasher. Her mother, Anna (Riegelhaupt) Lachs, was a homemaker.

She grew up in Bayside, Queens, and received her undergraduate degree in economics from Queens College and a doctorate in economics from The New School.

She married Nathan Ginsburg in the mid-1950s. He survives her, as does her brother, Sherman Lachs.

Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths
Bernstein, Vivian Hatterer, Myra Hauspurg, Peter	Lockwood, Susan Perlegos, Pete Shanfeld, Raymond Thomas, Shibu	Herbert, loving mother of David, Margot and Elizabeth, and sister of Nona. Adored grandmother of Walter, Benjamin, Sima, Katherine, Sophie and Sienna. Mother-in-law of Jennifer Kast, Tom Stein, and Mike Ashworth. Susan attended Tufts University (Bovey Boston School) in MA where she achieved her degree in Physical Therapy, and went on to practice at St. Luke's in Manhattan, Yonkers General in Westchester, and then privately. She later managed the marketing and advertising for the family business, Lockwood Lumber. Susan loved books and reading and spent many hours volunteering at the Ardsley Public Library in Ardsley, N.Y. She supported her community through her work at the Scarsdale Women's Exchange and as a poll worker in Edgemont. PLEASE VOTE. A memorial service will be held at a later date due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In lieu of flowers, donations in Susan's memory may be made to either: Friends of the Ardsley Public Library, 9 American Legion Drive, Ardsley NY 10502 or New York Presbyterian Lawrence Hospital's Cancer Center, payable to NYPL Lawrence Hospital, NYP Lawrence Hospital Development Office, 55 Palmer Ave, PH4, Bronxville, NY 10708 or online at https://www.nyp.org/lawrence/give (Cancer Center is listed under "Please Direct My Donation" and the Ardsley Public Library tab is listed under "Additional Information" tab).	PERLEGOS—Pete. left Helen and their sons (Jeff, Gust and George) to go to America to find his younger brother, Leon. Pete made his way to Lodi, California where Leon and several of his parents' family members had settled. After five years of working at every job he could find, Pete became a US citizen and saved enough money to bring his family to America. Although still teenagers, Jeff, Gust and George traveled by themselves to Lodi in 1962. Helen stayed behind to take care of the farm, arriving in 1965. Pete insisted that his sons get good education and worked to give them that opportunity. Jeff went to UC Berkeley while Gust and George both went to Stanford, all obtaining engineering degrees. Pete became an entrepreneur and started buying farm land eventually becoming a force as one of the last independent farmers in the local grape industry. He continued farming up to the age of 85. Pete's sons inherited his entrepreneurial spirit and worked in the Silicon Valley technology industry. George invented several generations of non-volatile memory chips, first at INTEL then going on to found SEEQ and AT&TEL. His Flash Memory technology became an industry standard and made today's hand-held cellphones and personal electronics feasible. Pete was preceded in death by Helen, his wife of 49 years who passed away in 1994 and his brothers, Baby Leon who passed away during the Spanish flu pandemic and Leon who passed away in 1988. Pete is survived by his three children and their wives, nine grandchildren and five great-grandchildren. Pete lived the American Dream. He came to America and found a better life for his family. Yet he never lost his love for Greece and returned to visit every year. He will be remembered for his focus and stubbornness to solve problems, his great sense of humor and his sharp memory up to his last day. A family and friends celebration of the life of Pete Perlegos will be held on Saturday, November 7 from 5:00pm to 7:00pm at the Lodi Funeral Home. His final resting place will be Garea, Greece. In lieu of flowers, donations to Pete's favorite charity, the Greek Orthodox Church, Stockton California.	SHANFELD—Raymond. Raymond (Ray) Shanfeld, born on August 29, 1928 passed away on October 15, 2020. He is survived by his wife Lois Rapoport of 47 years, his daughter Dr. Lisa Valbura, grandchildren Claire Engel and Abigail Bleckler and great-granddaughter Ember Rose Bleckler. Ray was a talented musician, woodwind and double bass player in many Broadway shows including 17 of the 18 years of 'CATS'. When he retired from the music business he turned to his love of sculpting and sculpted for many years at the Art Students League. Ray would travel to Italy every summer and select marble from the quarries of the Apennine Mountains in central Italy. He carved for 15 years in the town of Pietrasanta in Tuscany. His sculptures have been exhibited in many New York City galleries and have won numerous awards. They may be viewed on his website at www.rayshanfeldsculptures.com. Ray loved life. He and his wife, Lois, bicycled all throughout France, went to the Arctic Circle to see the	polar bears and visited Kenya, Africa to see the lions and elephants. Ray was a very special person and will be greatly missed.	THOMAS—Shibu, MD The Medical Staff of Maimonides Medical Center is so deeply saddened by the sudden death of Dr. Shibu Thomas. Dr. Thomas was an internist who worked in the Department of Cardiology at Maimonides Medical Center for 22 years. He did his training in Internal Medicine here. He was in charge of the cardiac rehab center for people recovering from open heart surgery for many years. His smile was infectious and he always had a kind word for everyone. He will be sorely missed by all his colleagues, friends and patients. Sincere condolences are extended to his wife, children, parents and entire family. H. Adler, MD, Pres M. Ghilan, MD, Pres-Elect J. Kupferman, MD, Secy C. Koiser, DPM, Treas G. Neiderman, MD, Past-Pres
BERNSTEIN—Vivian. passed away on 5th November 2020 at the age of 66. Beloved wife of Daniel. Loving mother of Michelle and Peter (Jen). Devoted abuela of Benjamin and Eli and sister of Tomas (Sandra). Vivian was born in Caracas, Venezuela, a daughter of two Holocaust Survivors, Eva and Herbert Glaser, from Prague, Czechoslovakia. She exemplified and embodied every day of her life the theory of living life to the fullest. A retiree from the United Nations after 33 and a half years, a devout tennis player and fan, a lover of all activities with family, Vivian had the unique ability of creating special connections with everyone she came in contact with and will be missed by all those she touched. Donations in her memory may be made to Dr. Eileen O'Reilly Research Fund at Memorial Sloan Kettering. Funeral will be held 8th November 2020, 9:30am at Riverside Memorial Chapel with a graveside service to follow 11am at Mount Zion Cemetery, Masspeth, Queens.	HATTERER—Myra S., MD. died peacefully at home in her sleep on November 5, 2020. Dr. Hatterer graduated from Baha Kanto from NYU and Alpha Omega Alpha from New York Medical College. She worked for over five decades as an internist and adult psychiatrist in private practice and was Assistant Clinical Professor	at Columbia P & S. Dr. Hatterer was married for 50 years to Dr. Lawrence Hatterer. She is survived by their daughters Jane and Julie, her brother Dr. Alan Schatzberg and her grandchildren Marissa and Clifford Gelb, Isabella and Jason Bohner. Services private.	HAUSPURG—Peter. The sudden passing of Peter is heartbreaking. Outstanding professional and real estate specialist. Industry insiders would say Peter is "one of the good guys," a subtle statement of high praise and trust. His intelligence, capability, drive and generosity omnipresent. Founder, along with his wife Daun, and chairman for 40 years of Eastern Consolidated an extraordinarily successful brokerage firm instrumental in major New York City real estate deals. It was an honor when Peter decided to join ABS as a partner, his personality, experience and capability enlightening. A consummate dealmaker, one of the most respected and loved professionals within the industry. Our thoughts and prayers are with Daun and the family. Peter will be missed greatly by all. ABS Partners Real Estate	LOCKWOOD—Susan Bon. 80, of Edgemont, NY died October 29, 2020 in her home. Beloved wife of the late	FRIDAY—Nancy. 11/05/17. A most brilliant woman. Kind, generous and a leader for women's sexuality, independence and equal pay. We say goodnight to you every evening with love. Bob and Dick	

In Memoriam



Let's make every Friday in November #BuyBlack Friday

Black-owned businesses need our help. More than 40% have closed forever this year due to COVID-19. That's why where you spend your money can really make a difference. So, #BuyBlack every Friday in November and make a meaningful impact on the lives of small business owners across the country.



To find out how to get involved,
visit fb.com/BuyBlackFri

FACEBOOK     

JASON FARAGO | EXHIBITION REVIEW



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Oracle of the Rural World

THIS MUCH WE KNEW by Tuesday night: at the electoral level, at least, the divide between American cities and its hinterlands seems deeper than ever, with urban and rural having become almost synonyms for blue and red.

The surprise that initially greeted this entrenched polarization reinforces, all too well, the thrust of the current exhibition at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum: that the true terra incognita is outside of town. “Countryside, the Future,” organized by the Dutch architect and theorist Rem Koolhaas, argues that architects, intellectuals and po-

In a show at the Guggenheim, the architect Rem Koolhaas argues that cities are being supplanted by rural areas as centers of cosmopolitanism and dynamism.

Countryside, the Future
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

liticians have focused on metropolitan life to the point of myopia, and have missed convulsive changes — demographic ones, political ones, technological ones — in sparsely populated regions.

Five years in the making, “Countryside” opened on Feb. 20 and closed three weeks later because of the coronavirus pandemic. The show is almost devoid of architecture as such, and instead examines the design history of nonurban areas through assem-

Rem Koolhaas’s exhibition offers a view of the design history of nonurban areas through propaganda, advertising and showcases of robotic tractors and crop-seeding drones.

blages of historical propaganda and contemporary advertisements; torrents of agricultural statistics; and showcases of robotic tractors and crop-seeding drones. As my colleague Michael Kimmelman wrote upon its opening, it has “something of the aesthetic of an old Soviet World’s Fair pavil-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C8



FRANCES F. DENNY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Blood on the Ivy

In ‘We Keep the Dead Close,’ Becky Cooper explores a killing she heard rumors about when she was a Harvard student. Page 6.

Escape Rooms Reinvent For the At-Home Player

Creating an online revenue stream has been a key to survival during the pandemic.

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

Hours after sunset, our team had finally decrypted the poems and exposed the nine oracles. With the traitor in our midst unmasked and the guardian revealed, the portal to the library began to open.

Then my computer crashed, and I missed the climactic moments of the Secret Library, an online escape-room-style experience poised at the intersection of gaming and immersive theater.

The Secret Library is one of dozens, maybe hundreds, of new events prompted by pandemic-related closures. More than 2,000 physical escape-room facilities operate in the United States, or at least they did back in March before lockdown hit. Some have since reopened, though patrons remain wary of spending an hour or two in an enclosed and imprecisely ventilated space. Others have closed entirely.

To create a revenue stream, to keep em-



VIA SOCIETY OF CURIOSITIES

ployees on the books, to buck up brand awareness and to keep from going completely stir crazy, many escape-room owners — and people in adjacent trades, like theater — have entered a period of frenetic innovation. In search of pandemic-friendly entertainment, they have created and adapted games to make them available for

CONTINUED ON PAGE C10

The Society of Curiosities includes a digital adventure called Mysterious Map Heist.

There Are Lots of Outlets for Stress Relief

Our writers and critics have selected a variety of events, both virtual and live, to help you through the weekend. You know you need it.

POP & ROCK

Let the Glitter Bombs Stream
Disco's foothold in pop has grown considerably this year — even though the world's dance floors have never been so quiet. While Dua Lipa strapped on her roller skates and tipped her cap to Madonna's "Confessions on the Dance Floor," Jessie Ware went full-on Studio 54 with "What's Your Pleasure?," her album from June. Other recent dabblers in the genre include Selena Gomez and Doja Cat.
And then there's Kylie Minogue. Both Lipa and Ware have been vocal in their admiration of the Australian singer, who despite occasional dalliances with other styles has been a reliable producer of disco-pop for decades. In fact, "Disco" is an apt title for her 15th studio album, due out on Friday. The record is packed with glitter bombs; there's nary a ballad to be found.
To celebrate the release, Minogue is presenting "Kylie: Infinite Disco," a ticketed digital concert that will stream several times, including at 8 p.m. Eastern time on Saturday. It's no D.I.Y. affair, unlike many virtual performances in this era. Fans can expect a characteristically glitzy performance from Minogue, complete with lasers and a full backing choir. Tickets are \$20 and available at dice.fm.
OLIVIA HORN

ART & MUSEUMS

Safe Viewing, All Around Town
Throughout this year, galleries have been trying to come up with safe ways to display art to the public. For "Paper Mirror" — the latest installment of 601 Artspace's "Storefront Exhibition" series, which closes on Monday — the married artists Jennifer and Kevin McCoy recreated, with intricate line drawings, the reflection of buildings across from the gallery's facade window, establishing a type of wider narrative on whether storefronts serve as the clearest indicator of urban health (or lack thereof). On Saturday, from 2 to 4 p.m., the McCoy's will discuss the project in a socially distanced chat in front of the installation.
The city has been historically at odds with street art, but it is occasionally embraced, in the right context. For the latest Houston Bowery Wall, located on Houston Street between Elizabeth and Bowery Streets, the muralist Raúl Ayala pairs Black figures with mythical creatures. Further north, in front of the Vessel at the Hudson Yards for the public art initiative HYx-OffTheWall, Elle and Key Detail have created two large-scale murals that celebrate the city's resilience.
Nearby at Lehmann Maupin, Billie Zangewa portrays, in scenes composed of vividly colored silk, what that resilience was borne out of: our isolation after spend-



VIA HUDSON YARDS

ing months at home. On view through Saturday, the exhibition is indoors, but the gallery is enforcing C.D.C. guidelines.
MELISSA SMITH

DANCE

'Move' Mixes Gloss With Depth
Starved of live shows since March, dance fans have gone online for archival recordings and short new works created in quarantine with generally low production values (but with many gems among them). This month, though, Netflix has stepped up with the debut of "Move," a five-part documentary that applies the streaming service's high-gloss aesthetics and sharp storytelling to some of dance's most revered figures.
The first episode focuses on the captivating artists Jon Boogz and Lil Buck, who have expanded the parameters and perceptions of the street-dance forms popping and jookin. Subsequent episodes feature the dances of the Israeli choreographer Ohad Naharin, the pioneering Spanish flamenco phenom Israel Galván, the ferocious Jamaican dancehall performer Kimiko Versatile, and Akram Khan, the British dance maker of Bangladeshi descent who weaves classical Indian dance and contemporary dance into gorgeous theatrical tapestries.
Each an hour or less, the episodes mix handsomely shot dance excerpts with interviews and insight into the artists' personal worlds, connecting their work and their lives in ways not generally seen onstage. Savor with restraint, or binge at will.
BRIAN SCHAEFER

THEATER

Channeling the Other Side
"What if I told you there was a reason for it all?" declares the alt-right country singer Tammy Faye Starlite at the top of her new show "Standing By." Claiming to know the causes behind the disease, geopolitical displacement and chaos that have plagued us this year, she dissects modern America through classic rock and country songs, in preparation for the "great awakening."
Starlite is the persona created by the left-wing artist Tammy Lang, as an exercise in empathy toward the positions of those on the other side of the political spectrum. But Lang knows there is no place for contempt when you're trying to see the world through the eyes of others. And so when Starlite unironically turns to the Rolling Stones' "Sympathy for the Devil" or the Who's "Won't Get Fooled Again" to prove her points, she reveals a literalist — someone whose fear is real, albeit misguided.
"Standing By" is the first show in the Ghost Light Series of livestreams from Pangea. Starting at \$20 for individual viewers, you can stream a 48-hour rental through showtix4u.com until Nov. 23. If you've seen Starlite perform live, you know her rawness and magnetism are breathtaking. But in the intimacy of this filmed version, we have an opportunity to listen without distractions. May it grant us some sympathy as well.
JOSE SOLÍS



NETFLIX

CLASSICAL MUSIC

Whispery Timbres, Dense Hazes
The new-music chamber ensemble known as counter)induction is celebrating its 20th anniversary with an album titled "Against Method," which is scheduled for release on Friday. Though focused on experimental repertoire, the group isn't beholden to any single trend line in contemporary American classical style. Pieces by the band's artistic directors, Douglas Boyce and Kyle Bartlett, open the set and give a sense of the variation to come.
Boyce's opus, "The Hunt by Night," has a gamboling quality, derived from jaunty interplay between piano, cello and clarinet. Bartlett's "Before" vaults from whispery timbres to percussive outbursts. Elsewhere, the composer Alvin Singleton — a distinguished elder whose works are too rarely heard in mainstream concert halls — finally gets a premiere recording of a 1997 composition, "Ein Kleines Volkslied."
The Mozart reference aside, Singleton's item is best appreciated as a part of his consistently striking catalog. In the second minute, entertaining handoffs between the electric guitar and bass clarinet prepare the listener for subsequent pairings. The ensemble's lineup adds a few guest players here to meet the composer's instrumental requirements. Whether taking on Singleton's crisp, songful cries or his denser hazes, this retinue handles the composer's quick-changing music with grace.
SETH COLTER WALLS

COMEDY

'Ticked Off' Suits Him
In April, a clip of a middle-aged man spitting vitriol (and actual spit) from behind the wheel of his car went viral, as his pleas for the federal government to help working Americans survive the pandemic reached millions of viewers on social media.
That man was the 59-year-old comedian Vic DiBitetto, and it wasn't his first brush with video fame. His 28-second "Bread and Milk" video from 2013, which lampooned supermarket hoarding, has more than 19 million views on YouTube.
The Brooklyn native and former Staten Island school bus driver, who now lives in New Jersey, has other comedy credits, too.

Back in the early 1990s, DiBitetto performed on "America's Funniest People," and he played a security guard in "Paul Blart: Mall Cop 2." But DiBitetto really took off this year with his "Ticked Off Vic" videos — imagine the TV anchor from the 1976 film "Network" crossed with Andrew Dice Clay espousing the workingman values of Bruce Springsteen.
To hear what's on DiBitetto's mind in real time, he's headlining a stand-up show at 7:30 p.m. Eastern time on Saturday at No-where Comedy Club, a virtual space created by comedians to fill the void left by the lockdown. Tickets, which start at \$20, are available through Eventbrite.
SEAN L. MCCARTHY

KIDS

The Met's Scene for Teens
Most adolescents love congregating, a pastime that the pandemic has severely limited. But since crowds aren't a concern on the internet, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has adapted Teens Take the Met! — its twice-yearly free festival for ages 13 to 18 — into a virtual event that's bigger than ever: Young people anywhere can attend.
On Friday from 3 to 8 p.m. Eastern time, the museum will present more than 30 activities on the @metteens Instagram account and the social media platforms of partner organizations, like Lincoln Center and the New York Public Library. Participants are encouraged to register online, but they must do so by noon on Friday to enroll in several offerings on Zoom. One is the new V.I.P. Lounge, a cyberspot for meeting friends, making art and hearing music from the D.J.s at Building Beats.
The opportunities for imaginative leaps include movement sessions with Teens@Graham and the program Air-heads: The Science of Flight with the Intrepid Sea, Air & Space Museum. Attendees can also make activist posters with El Museo del Barrio, create poetry with Urban Word NYC, investigate Shakespeare with Titan Theater Company and do improv with ArtsConnection. While visual-art workshops abound, teenagers can also explore subjects like contraception, civil rights and healthy relationships. (A full schedule is at metmuseum.org.)
LAUREL GRAEBER

This weekend I have . . .

BY MARGARET LYONS

. . . a half-hour, and I'm spacey.

'MOONBASE 8'
SUNDAY AT 11 P.M.
ON SHOWTIME

This new comedy feels more like a web series than a premium-cable comedy — somehow an appropriate serving for such joy-starved times. Tim Heidecker, Fred Armisen and John C. Reilly (pictured above, from left), who created the show with Jonathan Krisel, star as earthbound astronauts training on a simulated lunar base in Arizona. Petty grievances and bureaucratic minutiae abound, but the show feels easy and fun and silly. If that setup sounds cool but you want something more substantive, try the fantastic nonfiction podcast "The Habitat," about volunteers who live in a faux Mars outpost as part of a NASA study.



A24 AND SHOWTIME

. . . an hour, and I'm at 'bite through the night guard.'

'EARTH'S GREAT SEASONS'
SATURDAY AT 8 P.M.
ON BBC AMERICA

For those who already plowed through "World of Calm" and need more onscreen serenity, or for anyone who is considering getting a drone, this new documentary is on the chill "enjoy this time-lapse sunset" end of the spectrum rather than the savage "behold nature's microscopic murder machines" end. Narrated by Andrew Scott, the show has all the restrained marvel and sumptuous landscape footage one could hope for. This week's premiere is about spring, which means lots of baby animals clomping around being goofballs, but I'm partial to the fourth episode, about winter.

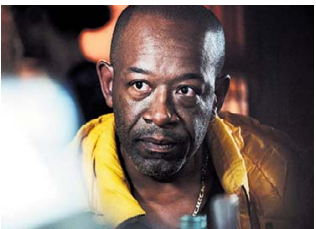


DAVID RASMUS/BBC AMERICA

. . . 12 hours, and I want a British crime show.

'SAVE ME' AND 'SAVE ME TOO'
ON PEACOCK
AND PEACOCK PREMIUM

Lennie James (right) wrote and stars in this tense missing-kid thriller. His character Nelly is a charismatic dirtbag jolted into action when his teenage daughter, with whom he has no relationship, disappears after posting a video saying she was going to visit him. "Save Me" and its second season, "Save Me Too," are solid entries in the British Crime Show genre. It's also a superb entry in the Distinctive Coats genre. All six episodes of Season 1 and the first episode of Season 2 are available on Peacock, which is free; the rest of Season 2 requires a subscription to Peacock Premium.



ALISON PAINTER/SKY UK LIMITED, VIA PEACOCK



DAN NORMAN



VIA CENTER THEATER GROUP

Above, “Kristina Wong for Public Office” at the Kirk Douglas Theater. Left, “Last Stop on Market Street,” by the Minnesota’s Children’s Theater and Chicago Children’s Theater in 2018.

Virtual Theater Settles In

Stage performances to watch, and maybe even take part in, from the comfort of your living room.

By ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

As Covid continues unabated in the United States and an increasing number of countries go back into lockdown, audiences are nowhere near returning to live theater en masse. Thankfully, theater itself keeps going — resourcefulness is part of its DNA.

Some folks are definitely more enterprising than others. Jeremy Wein’s scrappy New York upstart Play-PerView, for example, continues its streak of dynamic staged readings with two exciting outings.

First, Armie Hammer stars in Howard Emanuel’s “Sundogs” as Joe Garnier, a soldier in the Army (Sunday through Thursday).

Hot on its heels is a reunion of Lydia R. Diamond’s popular “Toni Stone,” headed once again by the wondrous April Matthis in the title role — the real-life first woman to play professional baseball. (Tuesday to Nov. 14; both shows at play-perview.com.)

Some established institutions have risen to the challenge as well. In Los Angeles, the Geffen Playhouse is cranking out playful interactive productions that regularly sell out.

Next in line is “Citizen Detective,” written and directed by Chelsea Marcantel (“Everything Is Wonderful”). Capped at 24 participants at a time, the show splits audience members into squads and dispatches them to solve a Hollywood murder. (Tuesday-Dec. 20; geffenplayhouse.org.)

And there is so much more.

A Little Night Music

Interaction comes from a more unexpected quarter in City Lyric Opera’s high-tech, stylish “Threepenny Opera,” which integrates prerecorded and live segments as

well as some audience participation. Rising baritone Justin Austin, who was cast in Lincoln Center Theater’s postponed production of Ricky Ian Gordon and Lynn Nottage’s “Intimate Apparel,” stars as the rogue Macheath. (Through Nov. 15; CityLyricOpera.org.)

We have come a long way since the early days of virtual theater, when syncing music challenged streaming technology. Like most months, November brings star-studded benefit concerts. Who would turn up their noses at Robert Cuccioli, Darius de Haas, Jarrod Emick, Cady Huffman, Ben Vereen and Vanessa Williams crooning for “Broadway Celebrates Veterans Day,” a concert organized by the Stage Aurora Theatre Company? (Saturday to Wednesday; YouTube.com/StageAurora.)

More intimate, the York Theater’s new appointment series, Broadway’s Great American Songbook, bears a self-explanatory title and is hosted by Michael Feinstein; it should be a balm for cabaret lovers. (through Dec. 16; yorktheatre.org.)

Companies Stepping Up

In Southern California, Center Theater Group is keeping busy with new digital productions filmed at the Kirk Douglas Theater, which has been transformed into a soundstage. In the politically minded comedy “Kristina Wong for Public Office,” Wong recounts her experience as a performance artist and theater maker who got elected as a representative on the Wilshire Center Koreatown Neighborhood Council, an advisory board to the City of Los Angeles. (Through Nov. 29; centertheatregroup.org.)

C.T.G. is also presenting readings of the Los Angeles-based playwright Luis Alfaro’s

illuminating, elemental transpositions of Greek tragedies to Chicano America. First out is “Oedipus El Rey” on Nov. 13, followed by “Mojada” (that is, “Medea”) on Nov. 20 and “Electricidad” (a reworking of “Electra”) on Nov. 22.

Moving eastward, Chicago’s prestigious Steppenwolf Theater kicks off a promising virtual season with James Ijames’s 20-minute piece, “What Is Left, Burns.” Directed by Whitney White, the performance stars the Steppenwolf ensemble members K. Todd Freeman and Jon Michael Hill as former lovers who reconnect when they are at different stages of their lives and careers. (Opens on Wednesday; steppenwolf.org.)

Keeping the Cast List Small

The prickly monologist Daniel Kitson is touring empty British theaters with his latest piece, “Dot.Dot.Dot.” Inspired by six months of pandemic living, the show was conceived specifically for these ghostly locations; considering Kitson’s often adversarial relationship with critics, he’s probably happy they can’t be there in the flesh. (Through Nov. 27; danielkitson.com.)

A more avuncular solo is “Being Shakespeare,” in which the great character actor Simon Callow (“Tuesdays at Tesco’s”) takes us through Jonathan Bate’s recounting of a certain playwright’s life and work. The performance, filmed in 2011, kicks off Shakespeare Month on the YouTube channel The Shows Must Go On! (Through Sunday; youtube.com/theshowsmustgoon.)

Doubling the number of warm bodies onstage is a revival of a revival of Lanford Wilson’s affecting Pulitzer Prize-winning duet “Talley’s Folly,” a play equal parts melancholy and romantic. Kate Hamill (best known for her stage adaptations of such literary classics as “Sense and Sensibility” and “Dracula”) and her real-life husband, Jason O’Connell, portray wary souls tiptoeing around love in a full production captured at Syracuse Stage last month. (Wednesday to Nov. 22; syracusestage.org.)

One for the Kids

Quality streaming theater for the whole family has not been all that easy to find, so an adaptation of Matt de la Peña and Christian Robinson’s Newbery Medal-winning

“Last Stop on Market Street” stands out. The show, about a young boy and his grandmother’s lively bus ride after church, features a score by the father-son team of Lamont Dozier and Paris Ray Dozier. (You may recognize dad’s name from many Motown hits.) A joint effort from Minnesota’s Children’s Theater Company and Chicago Children’s Theater, this full staging was recorded in 2018. (Monday to Nov. 22; childrenstheatre.org.)

From America to Britain, and Back Again

Lesser-known American tuners are getting British productions that are worth investigating. A musical about the writing of a musical, by and starring the makers of that musical, “[title of show]” is the epitome of meta. Now it’s back with a livestream from the London Coliseum, which should confirm that this self-referential onion works even when layers are missing, i.e., the cast was not involved in the original run. (Thursday to Nov. 14; londoncoliseum.org.)

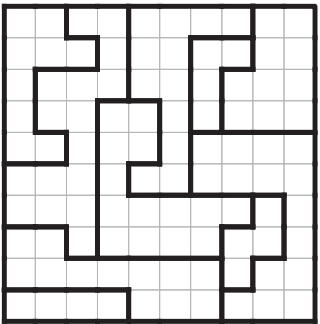
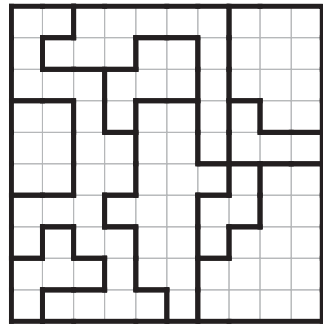
Meanwhile, Finborough Theater has made available its 2016 staging of Joshua Schmidt and Jason Loewith’s “Adding Machine: A Musical.” The show, which ran Off Broadway in 2008, is a modernist satire that is as biting as bleak — its protagonist is named Mr. Zero — as it is brilliant. The capture is entirely devoid of frills, but it’s still a worthy watch. (Through Thursday; finboroughtheatre.co.uk.)

American Realness

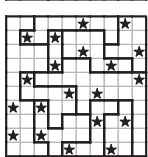
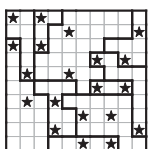
The Rattlestick Playwrights Theater and WNET’s All Arts present the virtual premiere of Dael Orlandersmith’s solo play “Until the Flood,” based on interviews she conducted after the shooting of Michael Brown by a white police officer in Ferguson, Mo. Orlandersmith’s performance, captured during the Rattlestick run two years ago, has a fervid yet controlled intensity. (From Nov. 15; allarts.org.)

The deep divisions running through the United States also undergird “DEBATE: Baldwin vs Buckley,” in which the company American Vicarious re-enacts the 1965 public debate between James Baldwin (Teagle F. Bougere) and William F. Buckley Jr. (Eric T. Miller) at the Cambridge Union. (Through Nov. 15; theamericanvicarious.org.)

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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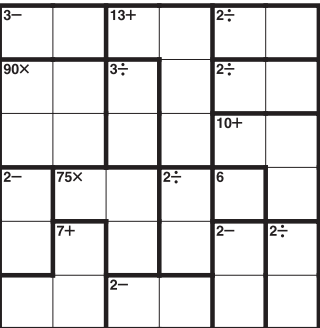
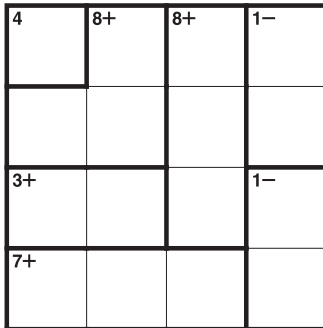
Brain Tickler

Name a major financial company in two words. Switch the order of the words, and you’ll get a phrase meaning “Places to get water in the largest city in North Dakota.” What is it?

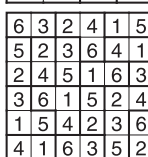
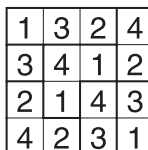
PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

YESTERDAY’S ANSWER “Julia Roberts” and “education” are “supervocalics” — words or phrases that use each vowel once.

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For solving tips and more KenKen puzzles: www.nytimes.com/kenken. For feedback: nytimes@kenken.com

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Crossword Edited by Will Shortz

ACROSS

- 1 YouTube star Chamberlain, whom The Atlantic called “the most talked-about teen influencer in the world”
- 5 Abbr. on a family tree
- 9 “Dirty Harry” org.
- 13 Loaded questions?
- 15 Reacted in wonderment
- 17 When it’s all finally over
- 18 Grade A
- 19 Hunches
- 21 Bunches
- 22 Crafts created on a rotating platform
- 26 Strip at the beach?
- 28 Kind of code
- 29 Quarters abroad, maybe
- 31 Risen, in a way
- 33 Sides of a conversion
- 36 German opposite of “junge”

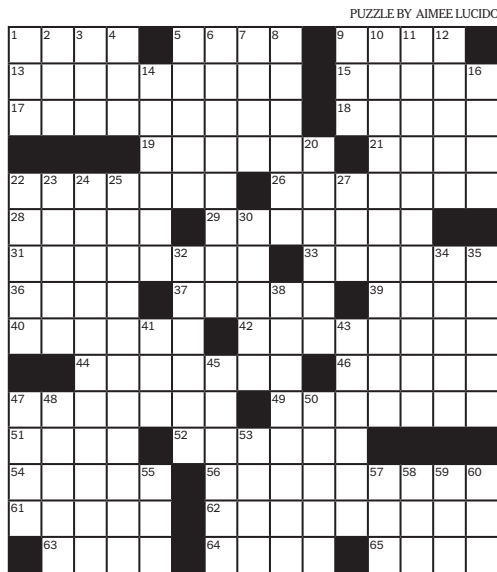
- 37 “Thus ...”

- 39 Hello or goodbye
- 40 Lipton competitor
- 42 Easy-listening music
- 44 Take a good, long look at yourself?
- 46 Political ____
- 47 Absolutely crazy
- 49 Rutherford and Shackleton, for two
- 51 Figure skating maneuver
- 52 Buckingham Palace attendant
- 54 Disney character who sings “Part of Your World”
- 56 Really bothered
- 61 Le ____ (French port)
- 62 Satisfies, as with a small snack
- 63 In case
- 64 Gender-neutral possessive
- 65 Pickup order?

DOWN

- 1 Wane

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



11/6/20

- 2 Month after avril

- 3 Musclemen who co-starred in “Rocky III”
- 4 Legal fig.
- 5 More urgent
- 6 “Still ...”
- 7 Makes a big mistake
- 8 R.O.T.C. group
- 9 Soup-soaked bread, say
- 10 Part of an apathetic remark
- 11 Uncultured sorts
- 12 Something summoned via a pentagram
- 14 ____ value
- 16 Spoil, with “on”

- 20 Had done, as a portrait

- 22 [Kerplol!]
- 23 Director of “Get Out” and “Us”
- 24 Daydreaming, maybe
- 25 More familiar term for omphaloskeptics
- 27 PBS-funding org.
- 30 Stranger
- 32 Deny
- 34 “I ____ noticed”
- 35 Sources of tofu
- 38 Diagnostic computer setting
- 41 Length of time spent on hold, it often seems
- 43 Festival de ____

- 45 No longer bothered by

- 47 Bo-o-oring
- 48 Kind of medical exam
- 50 Parties with black lights, maybe
- 53 “... now ____ the future”
- 55 Rent out
- 57 !, in some programming languages
- 58 A.C.C. basketball powerhouse
- 59 Stereotypical cowboy nickname
- 60 Tamil title

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Movies

GLENN KENNY | FILM REVIEW

When Contentment Turns Into Terror



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KIMBERLEY FRENCH/FOCUS FEATURES



Top, Diane Lane and Kevin Costner in “Let Him Go,” directed by Thomas Bezucha, adapting a novel by Larry Watson. Above, Lesley Manville in the movie.

The mature chemistry of Kevin Costner and Diane Lane goes a long way in this thriller.

A HIGH POINT of the mostly meh 2013 Superman movie “Man of Steel” was the presence of Kevin Costner and Diane Lane as the title character’s earth parents. These stars showed a mature chemistry that one would have wanted to experience in a mature motion picture.

As it turns out, Costner and the screenwriter-director of “Let Him Go,” Thomas Bezucha (adapting a novel by Larry Watson), seem to have thought similarly. In this drama set in the 1960s, Lane and Costner (one of the movie’s executive producers)

play Margaret and George Blackledge. George is a former sheriff, now a horse farmer — although we learn that Margaret is the real rider. They live with their son James (Ryan Bruce), their daughter-in-law Lorna (Kayli Carter) and their infant grandson in what looks like reasonable contentment. But soon their son dies in an accident.

In the next scene, George and Margaret are dressed solemnly. For a funeral, we presume. But Bezucha pulls a nice bit of misdirection here. They are, rather, attending their former daughter-in-law’s wedding.

Margaret learns that Lorna’s new husband, Donnie (Will Brittain), is a domestic abuser. Before Margaret can act, Donnie has spirited Lorna and her child out of town. Margaret is determined to track them.

With uncommon stealth, “Let Him Go”

Let Him Go
Rated R for violence and language. Running time: 1 hour 54 minutes. In theaters. Consult Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines before watching movies in theaters.

morphs from a drama about loss and grief into a terrifying thriller. Lesley Manville, as a monstrous matriarch, turns up the heat. Jeffrey Donovan as one of her menacing sons is also outstanding. But the movie never loses sight of its character dynamics, beautifully acted by Costner and Lane. And it shows how this couple, whose back story is revealed only in judiciously placed flashbacks, sticks to its own wedding vows.

FILM REVIEWS

JUNGLELAND

Rated R for language, violence, sex. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes. In theaters. Consult Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines before watching movies in theaters.

Steely Dan once mocked “show business kids makin’ movies of themselves.” If “Jungleland,” directed by Max Winkler, son of the actor Henry, is any indication, those kids should stick to that pursuit because they don’t have a clue about other people.

The film features two brothers, one a softhearted boxer, the other a would-be operator who should have looked out for his sibling. No water-front figures in this tale by Theodore Bressman and David Branson Smith, with Winkler.

Charlie Hunnam’s Stanley has “managed” the fighting career of his brother Lion (Jack O’Connell) to the extent that Lion is banned from legitimate sport. The two now inhabit a boarded-up house in what looks like a 1980s Springsteen album ghost town.

A loan shark, whom Stanley owes (of course), waves the promise of a big payday at a bare-knuckle match on the other side of the country. The catch: The brothers have to shuttle a surly young woman named Sky (Jessica Barden) to Reno and deliver her to another degenerate criminal.

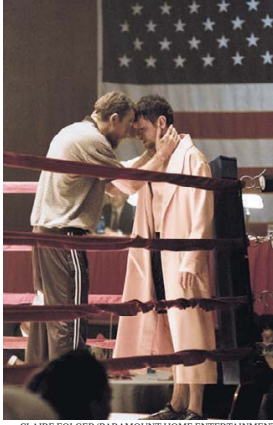
These three hardscrabble Americans are played by British actors. Their work betrays no condescension, and only a little self-flattery. Hunnam’s characterization is the most experimental, based on the proposition: “What if Channing Tatum, but with a beard?”

During their grittily picaresque road trip, Lion becomes attached to the bumptious Sky, and the brothers start to feel bad about delivering her to certain doom. The sweaty clichés enacted along the way are uniformly tired and ulti-

mately offensive. A love scene near the movie’s finale, Winkler’s vision of sex among the underclass, is a caricature that could comfortably fit in the new “Borat” movie.

Speaking of Springsteen, the movie pulls out his cover of Suicide’s “Dream Baby Dream” for the movie’s supposed-to-be-searing fight-scene finale. “Come on and open up your heart,” he sings. In any other context one might. Here, the only reasonable response is, “I’m good, thanks.”

GLENN KENNY



Charlie Hunnam, left, and Jack O’Connell as brothers in the road-trip film “Jungleland.”

KINDRED

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 41 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on iTunes, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay-TV operators. Consult Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines before watching movies in theaters.

Early in this movie, when Ben (Edward Holcroft), tells his mom, Margaret (Fiona Shaw), that he and his girlfriend are planning a

move from England to Australia, Shaw makes a face that looks as though a chisel has literally been taken to her jaw. Shaw is more often than not a better than capable performer, but this kind of overplaying seems endemic to “Kindred,” a derivative, irritating thriller directed by Joe Marcantonio. (The film has no relation to the Octavia Butler book of the same name, which, depending how you look at it, is fortunate or too bad.)

Margaret presides over a crumbling manor whose décor is dominated by portraits of lily-white colonialists from centuries past. In a montage, one of those pale faces is contrasted with that of Ben’s girlfriend, Charlotte (Tamara Lawrance), who is Black. Once Ben is knocked dead by a horse and Charlotte is discovered to be pregnant, Margaret and her stepson, Thomas (Jack Lowden), contrive to lock Charlotte up at the estate. The dreary picture then turns into a hostage scenario for people who thought “Get Out” was too subtle — except race is never explicitly mentioned. This is what the British call “restraint,” one supposes.

Some poorly developed symbolic hoo-ha about birds adds a mild supernatural dimension to the movie, which at times calls to mind “Rosemary’s Baby” and “Die! Die! My Darling!” — in the sense that they’re pictures one would rather be watching.

It doesn’t help that Charlotte is a completely underdeveloped character who comes off mostly as dull and ineffectual. Eventually the movie devolves into a particularly pernicious variant of torture porn. Marcantonio’s pedestrian direction is matched by Carlos Catalan’s cinematography, depicting England as an unpleasant, dull green-gray land.

GLENN KENNY

JEANNETTE CATSOULIS | FILM REVIEW



RLJE FILMS AND SHUDDER

Marin Ireland in the chiller “The Dark and the Wicked,” which is directed by Bryan Bertino.

They’re Back Home, But Sure Not Alone

“DO YOU SMELL HIM?” a little girl whispers in Bryan Bertino’s ingenious chiller “The Dark and the Wicked,” and the whole movie seems to freeze. As he showed in his masterly 2008 debut, “The Strangers,” Bertino understands the power in simplicity and the horror in a hush. Not for him a screeching soundtrack and screaming ghouls; instead, he subtly coaxes terror from familiar situations and everyday objects. A self-directed light switch here, an errant vegetable knife there — in his films, even our own mirror image can turn traitorous.

The setting is an isolated sheep farm in rural Texas, where a comatose patriarch lies gasping his last. Yet his estranged adult children, Louise (a riveting Marin Ireland) and Michael (Michael Abbott Jr.), returning to say goodbye, are more concerned about their mother (Julie Oliver-Touchstone). Her disturbing diary entries and collection of crucifixes — the iconography of a religion she doesn’t believe in — evidence her belief that an evil entity is trying to harm her husband. It’s not long before the siblings begin to share her fears.

Ambiguous and allusive, “The Dark and

The Dark and the Wicked
Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 35 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on iTunes, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay-TV operators. Consult the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines before watching movies in theaters.

the Wicked” feels saturated in helpless misery and nerve-clanging dread. Electric jump-scars and bursts of violence are all the more shocking for their brevity, while sidelong, slightly elevated camera angles suggest the gaze of a lurking, malevolent presence.

Pitiless in its intent, and hopeless in its sense of sorrowful dereliction, “The Dark and the Wicked” fully earns its horrifically distressing final scenes. Written and filmed on the director’s family farm, it depicts a shiveringly bleak rural homeland, abandoned to faith and neglected by its young — who learn too late they’ve been gone too long.

GATEWAY MOVIES | BEN KENIGSBERG

Two Masters of Style and Artifice

Watch Fassbinder’s ‘Lola’ with the film it’s based on, von Sternberg’s ‘Blue Angel.’

FOR A BINGE-WATCHING challenge, look to the ultimate binge filmmaker. The German director Rainer Werner Fassbinder died in 1982 at age 37, yet worked at a pace that allowed him to complete more than 40 features.

His signature is instantly recognizable, but it resists easy description. His films — frequently populated by a regular company that included Hanna Schygulla, Brigitte Mira, El Hedi ben Salem and Fassbinder himself — can seem cerebral and abrasive even as they push the conventions of melodrama to absurd, moving extremes. Many of his greatest works, like “Ali: Fear Eats the Soul” and “The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant,” test their characters’ capacities for love and cruelty.

Fassbinder’s prolificacy makes getting started a daunting task. One fun way in is to stack him against the émigré Hollywood legends he clearly revered — directors like Douglas Sirk, Billy Wilder and Josef von

The Blue Angel

Rent or buy it on Amazon or Kino Now.

Lola

Stream it on the Criterion Channel and HBO Max.

Sternberg. Sirk, the master of the self-deconstructing 1950s women’s picture, loomed particularly large as an influence.

But the Austrian-born, mainly American-raised von Sternberg, whose enduring collaboration with Marlene Dietrich (in films like “Dishonored” and “The Scarlet Empress”) helped make her a star, was also a kindred spirit. He and Fassbinder were both masters of style and artifice, intellectual filmmakers unafraid to embrace popular forms. Fassbinder drew attention to those affinities in “Lola” (1981), which put its own spin on a von Sternberg classic, “The Blue Angel” (1930).

The best way to approach any von Sternberg film is to look, first, to the surfaces — ornate, seamy or otherwise. As Dave Kehr explained in The New York Times 10 years ago, for von Sternberg, “plots were at most a structuring device, a way of ordering elusive emotions, hazy atmospheres and almost abstract images.” According to Fassbinder’s associate and biographer Christian Braad Thomsen, Fassbinder particularly admired von Sternberg’s aestheticized use of lighting.

“The Blue Angel,” von Sternberg’s first collaboration with Dietrich and the only one made in Germany, follows a protagonist driven by pure impulse as he is pulled into the gutter of the Weimar Republic and ultimately undone by his naïveté.

Emil Jannings stars as Immanuel Rath, “a professor at the local college,” as he pre- tentiously introduces himself, expecting others to be impressed. (Few are; his students’ nickname for him is Professor Unrat, meaning “garbage.”) A habitual scold, he lives for formality and fustiness, in jarring contrast to others around him, who seem to embrace the lusts and harsh social realities that he tunes out. When he solemnly puzzles over a pet bird that has died, his maid

Gateway Movies offers ways to begin exploring directors, genres and topics in film by examining a few streaming movies.



CRITERION COLLECTION

indifferently tosses it into a furnace.

Rath’s road to ruin begins when he ventures to a nightclub, the Blue Angel, that he believes has been corrupting his students. (In a tactile touch typical of von Sternberg, the nightclub has an elaborate seafaring theme, so that Rath has to tang- le his way through fishnet curtains to enter.)

But soon he himself becomes smitten with Lola-Lola (Dietrich), a cabaret singer and pinup girl. Who wouldn’t, especially when, on a subsequent visit, the M.C. theatrically declares Rath a guest of honor and gives him a prime balcony seat for Dietrich’s rendition of “Falling in Love Again”? (“The Blue Angel” was shot simultaneously in German- and English-language versions; watch the German-language one from Kino, which is widely acknowledged as superior.)

An early talkie, “The Blue Angel” has moments that play like a silent film: There’s a breathtaking sequence depicting the pas- sage of time, when Rath accidentally burns through a torn-off calendar page, and a se- ries of dissolves proceeds through subse- quent burning calendar pages to bring us forward several years. Jannings was also one of the great silent-screen muggers, and von Sternberg takes full advantage of his exaggerated expressions as Rath’s reck- lessness in pursuing Lola leads to the end of his teaching career, penury and ultimately humiliation on the vaudeville stage.

Fassbinder’s “Lola” updates von Stern- berg’s template for a new context. The story takes place in West Germany in the 1950s — it’s part of a trilogy set during the postwar



PARAMOUNT PICTURES

rebuilding period known as the economic miracle — and the moralist is not a profes- sor but the new building commissioner in a small city, Mr. von Bohm (Armin Mueller- Stahl). A model of punctiliousness and a font of jejune humor, he is appalled by the clutter his predecessor left. Von Bohm tells his secretary to always arrive one minute before he does at 8 a.m. He is so innocent he even, upon experiencing the wonders of a

Top, Barbara Sukowa as the title character in Rainer Werner Fassbinder’s “Lola.” Above, Marlene Dietrich, left, and Rosa Valetti in Josef von Sternberg’s “The Blue Angel.”

FILM REVIEWS

KOKO-DI KOKO-DA

Not rated. In Swedish and Danish, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 29 minutes. On virtual cinemas: linktr.ee/KokoDiKokoDa.

The likelihood of my going camp- ing was slim even before I saw Johannes Nyholm’s tent-based terror, “Koko-di Koko-da,” but now it’s nonexistent. Don’t be lulled by the jaunty title — taken from a Scandinavian nursery rhyme and emanating here from a child’s music box — this “Groundhog Day” of murder and marital dis- cord will ensure you never go down to the woods again.

Three years after experiencing a devastating tragedy, a young couple, Elin (Ylva Gallon) and Tobias (Leif Edlund), take a camping vacation, randomly pitching their tent in a deserted woodland glade. Bickering merci- lessly, the two seem miserably trapped in the past, unable to reconnect or move beyond their pain. A terrifying nighttime attack by three grotesque figures and a slaving hound appears to leave one camper dead and the other bloodied and shaken — a scenario we’ll see replayed, again and again, with variations in violence and outcome. Is the couple locked in a supernatural time loop, or in a dreamlike purgatory of blame and guilt that neither will admit?

Thick with anxiety and unac- knowledged trauma, “Koko-di Koko-da” (expanded from Ny- holt’s 2017 short film, “The Mus- ic Box”) plays as part pitch- black fable, part psychological allegory. Though at times taste- less and barely coherent, the story is oddly affecting, the very



SABAN FILMS

Nat Wolff as Eric in “Mortal,” directed by André Ovredal.

strangeness of Nyholm’s folkloric vision and its unnerving execu- tion pulling you in. Touchingly animated interludes reinforce an atmosphere of surreal and perva- sive sadness — the aftershocks of a grief that can no longer be ignored.

JEANNETTE CATSOULIS

MORTAL

Rated R. Violent weather. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes. In select theaters and available to rent or buy on iTunes, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay-TV operators. Consult Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidelines before watching movies in theaters.

The title “Mortal” wouldn’t seem to require much explanation, but this Norway-set fantasy film leads with a handy definition (“mortal [mawr-tl] n. A human being”). Its estimation of viewers’ intelligence doesn’t improve from there.

Directed by André Ovredal (last year’s more appealing “Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark”), “Mortal” isn’t really a movie proper as it is ponderous scene-setting for a potential se- quel. It centers on Eric (Nat Wolff), an American of Norwe- gian descent first seen as a strug- gling backpacker in need of a haircut. He wanders into a town, grabs some medical supplies and is hectored by local teenagers. After getting shoved, Eric warns a boy not to touch him. The kid does anyway, barely — and in- stantly drops dead.

The police are baffled. Eric’s superpowers confound him as well, although, as a handdog of few words, he initially appears more interested in brooding than in solving the mystery. A psychol- ogist (Iben Akerlie) intuits that his abilities are tethered to his emotions. Eric’s deadly touch can also heal. And he can control weather, allowing the filmmakers to stage show-offy effects se-

quences like a helicopter crash or a lightning storm on a bridge. A United States government official (Priyanka Bose) fears Eric’s godlike abilities will upend the globe, because he’ll be proof that the world’s faithful are worship- ing the wrong god.

But is Eric a god? Or is he auditioning for “X-Men: Scandi- navia”? The long-deferred an- swers aren’t satisfying on their own, and even less so when “Mor- tal” stops short just when it’s getting started. Wait for the next movie, sucker.

BEN KENIGSBERG

PROXIMA

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 47 minutes. Rent or buy on iTunes, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay-TV operators.

Approaching space travel with eyes and spirit firmly tethered to the ground, Alice Winocour’s “Proxima” takes a sadly unadven- turous look at the impending separation of a female astronaut and her child.

When Sarah (Eva Green) is chosen for a yearlong mission to the International Space Station, her young daughter, Stella (Zélie Boulant-Lemesle), struggles to adjust to what feels like an aban- donment. Their emotional jour- ney, however — while tender and movingly performed — so con- sumes the film that both Sarah’s sexist captain (Matt Dillon) and Stella’s preoccupied father (Lars Eidinger) are so faintly drawn that they barely register.

With its detailed, documenta- rylke interest in the mental chal- lenges and physical duress of

prelaunch training (the film was partly shot in the European Space Agency’s facilities), “Proxima” has authenticity to spare. Yet despite its visual beauty (the gleamingly sterile photography is by Georges Lechaptois), the result is dramatically bland, with narrative threads that — like Sarah’s mysterious skin infection — simply fade from view.

Torn between the maternal and the cosmic, the tactile and the unearthly, “Proxima” feels as unsettled as its heroine. And while the film’s feminist thrust is admirable, Winocour’s decision to sacrifice this for a cheap, senti- mental finale is infuriating. As Sarah’s reckless last-minute actions jeopardize not only her lifelong dream, but the mission itself, they also disappointingly undermine the movie’s own the- sis: that the demands of moth- erhood and high-stakes careers are not mutually exclusive.

Making that point far more effectively are the beaming im- ages of real-life astronauts and mothers scrolling past in the end credits. They made me wish that “Proxima” had fully embraced its nonfiction instincts and delved into their stories instead.

JEANNETTE CATSOULIS

TRIGGERED

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes. Rent or buy on iTunes, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay-TV operators.

Arriving late for Halloween gore- hounds, “Triggered,” despite its buzzword title, has nothing to do with making viewers feel safe and everything to do with giving them

new television, mistakes a test pattern for a broadcast.

And, of course, he has no knowledge of the local culture of corruption and self-deal- ing, which has enriched Schuckert (Mario Adorf), the city’s biggest building contrac- tor — a man who embraces being charac- terized as a vulture and who expects von Bohm to rubber-stamp his plans.

Von Bohm will, true to the earlier film, fall for a cabaret singer — here, explicitly a prostitute at a high-class brothel — with the stage name Lola (Barbara Sukowa), but the Fassbinder twist is to give their courtship a transactional dimension, befitting the move- ie’s backdrop of unchecked capitalism. Lola, who has a daughter with Schuckert, plots to catch von Bohm’s eye by dressing up in pearls and feigning an interest in church hymns and East Asian art. His humiliation will be in finding out who she really is and, moreover, seeing the city with its meta- phorical pants down when he finally visits the club and whorehouse that the male resi- dents frequent.

Fassbinder uses various distancing de- vices to simultaneously heighten and comment on the proceedings, from the outra- geously stylized use of primary and pastel colors and jarring camera movements to the discordant notes of the score and the way ambient sounds like the clack-clack of a typewriter punctuate the action. It’s involv- ing as a melodrama and a meta-melodrama — and like “The Blue Angel,” a study in how people take advantage of one another, at once exploiting and acting on all-too-human needs.

a good splatter.

Directed by Alastair Orr, the movie, filmed in South Africa but set in the Pacific Northwest, begins with a group of friends, about five years out of high school, enjoying a getaway at a forest campsite. Soon an unex- pected guest crashes the reunion. It’s Mr. Peterson, their old science teacher! And does he have an experiment for them.

Having strapped explosive vests to their chests, Mr. Peterson tells them only one will leave the woods alive. Some wearers have longer countdown times than others. But any one of them can steal minutes by killing. The setup unleashes the gang’s ata- vistic tendencies, anguished confessions and speculation on Mr. Peterson’s motives, along with geysers of blood that even spritz the lens.

Initially tough to tell apart, both visually (the film is mostly set at night) and in terms of their non- personalities, the kids fall on a spectrum from the killing-averse to the enthusiastically murderous. On that second end is Kato, who relishes the permission slip to slaughter (though not as much as Russell Crous, the actor playing him, appears to relish the part). The other end includes Rian (Reine Swart), the former vale- dictorian.

Melding “Saw” with “The Hunger Games,” “Triggered” wins no points for originality or distinctiveness, especially when it comes to its cookie-cutter charac- ters. But the movie’s relentless- ness, and the gusto with which it embraces its mandate to make a mess, is tough to resist.

BEN KENIGSBERG

Harvard Crimson, Indeed

Exploring a rumored killing at the school, where such crimes have become a rarefied genre.

By EMILY EAKIN

A young archaeology graduate student at Harvard is bludgeoned to death by the professor with whom she’s having an affair. The murder weapon is a stone tool from the university’s Peabody Museum. Under cover of darkness, the professor steals into the museum with the woman’s corpse and conducts a macabre funeral rite, draping her body in ancient jewelry and sprinkling it with red ochre powder.

Harvard, determined to avoid bad publicity, thwarts a police investigation, protects the professor and silences the press. It’s as if the murder never happened.

This is the story Becky Cooper heard as a Harvard junior in 2009. It lodged in her mind and would not let go. Intuitively, she knew the details couldn’t all be true, but the idea that her university was capable of covering up a murder did not strike her as far-fetched.

“The very things that made me love Harvard — its seductiveness, its limitlessness — also made it a very convincing villain,” Cooper writes in “We Keep the Dead Close: A Murder at Harvard and a Half Century of Silence,” her book, 10 years in the making, about the case at the heart of the rumor. “Harvard felt omnipotent.”

At 500 pages, “We Keep the Dead Close” — which will be published by Grand Central on Tuesday trailing superlatives from the high-profile authors Ron Chernow, Stacy Schiff and Patrick Radden Keefe — is a true-



CAMBRIDGE POLICE RECORDS

crime procedural and a record of its author’s all-consuming obsession, unfolding in what can seem like real time. But it is also, more unusually, a young woman’s reckoning with an institution whose mythic reputation belies unsavory secrets.

In this respect, “We Keep the Dead Close” is the latest entry in a rarefied genre: the Harvard murder. It’s a literary category in which erudition, integrity and high-mindedness are pitted against unthinkable malevolence. There have been just a handful of killings associated with the university since its founding in 1636 — an average of little more than one per century.

When one does occur, public reaction is intense. Foreign correspondents descend on Cambridge, Mass. Television cameras stake out Harvard Yard. And book deals ensue. The particulars vary, but with each case the scandal, and perhaps the thrill, is that such a paragon of excellence can be brought so low.

It was the institution itself “whose honor and virtue were really on trial,” the historian Simon Schama writes in “Dead Certain-ties” (1991), his imaginative reconstruction of the 1849 murder of George Parkman, a Boston businessman, by John Webster, a former Harvard classmate and a professor at the medical school. Webster, who had fall-

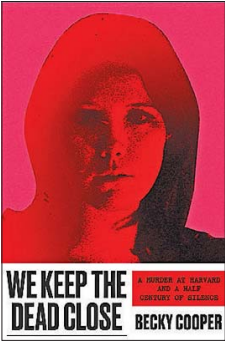


FRANCES F. DENNY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

en into debt and owed Parkman money, chopped his body into pieces, hiding his torso in a tea chest and throwing other parts down a medical-school privy, where they were eventually found — “bits of butcher’s trash sitting on the wet dirt.”

Sixty thousand people swarmed the Boston courthouse where Webster’s trial was held, including reporters from Germany and England. “What was it that had magnetized them all?” the sheriff in charge of managing the crowds wonders in Schama’s book. “The faintly disgusting excitement to be had from observing a man of the learned, moneyed classes revealed as a murdering beast?”

The sheriff was onto something. “Harvard seems like Harry Potter world,” Melanie Thernstrom, the author of “Halfway Heaven: Diary of a Harvard Murder” (1997), about a Harvard junior who in 1995 stabbed her roommate 45 times and then hanged herself in their shower, said in an interview. “It’s cloistered, it’s ivy-covered, it has a mystery that other schools don’t have,” Thernstrom added. “There is this sense of it being very much a secret society or a castle, where the drawbridge is up and the students inside are living this magical life. When one is murdered, it’s like evil has penetrated the fortress. How could some-



Top, Becky Cooper, the author of “We Keep the Dead Close.” Top left, a police photo of the fire escape leading out from the apartment of Jane Britton, a Harvard student who was murdered in 1969.

one have the supposed virtues that admit them to the kingdom and also commit such an evil act?”

Even the 1991 slaying on a Cambridge street of Mary Joe Frug, a legal scholar only indirectly connected to Harvard (her husband taught at the law school), was molded to this story line. A year after Frug was stabbed to death by an unknown assailant, a pair of male law students at Harvard wrote a mocking sendup of the article on feminist legal theory that Frug had been working on before she died and which was published posthumously in the Harvard Law Review.

The parody version, attributed to “Mary Doe,” the “Rigor-Mortis Professor of Law,” was laced with tasteless jokes and crude sexual innuendo. It quickly became national news: proof of something rotten at the heart of the Ivy League. Faculty and students denounced the parody, arguing that in its misogyny it constituted “a perpetuation,” in the words of one student, “of the forces that killed Mary Joe Frug.”

Harvard’s role in the slaying at the center of “We Keep the Dead Close” also turns out to be more symbolic than literal. Cooper discovers that the lurid story about the young woman’s death at the hands of her professor had been circulating on campus for years.

Over the course of her research, it be-

came “a gateway into this much larger story about abuses of power of the institution,” she said in a phone interview. “And it wasn’t at all where I expected to go.”

As her book opens, Cooper has graduated from Harvard but is back on campus. She sits in on a class taught by the professor rumored to have committed the crime. By now, she has uncovered the dead woman’s name — Jane Britton — and pored over photographs of her from a dig in Iran. And she has combed through every press report about her killing, which remained unsolved.

It occurred early on Jan. 7, 1969, the day Britton was supposed to take her general exams in archaeology. By the next day, it was front-page news, in some papers bumping reporting on Sirhan Sirhan’s upcoming trial for the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy.

Cooper listens, rapt, to the Harvard professor’s lectures, sifting them for clues. (When the professor, describing an ancient Israeli site where people were buried under their houses, remarks, “the dead are kept close to you,” she jots down the line and circles it in her notebook — surely, it’s suspicious!) She painstakingly recreates Britton’s life, tracking down her friends, her brother, her classmates, her boyfriend at the time and every still-living law enforcement officer who investigated her death.

She acquires Britton’s letters and journals. She files Freedom of Information Act requests with the C.I.A., F.B.I., Drug Enforcement Administration, State Department and Defense Department, as well as records requests with the police in Boston and Cambridge and the district attorney’s offices in Middlesex and Sussex Counties. She trawls Websleuths, a cold-case site. She even spends a month on a dig in Bulgaria, in emulation of her dead subject.

“We Keep the Dead Close” swells with false leads and red herrings — it’s not much

‘It’s cloistered, it’s ivy-covered, it has a mystery that other schools don’t have.’

MELANIE THERNSTROM
A WRITER, ON HARVARD

of a spoiler to reveal that the supposedly murderous professor turns out to be innocent. And here is where Cooper’s book takes a novel, contemporary twist.

Potential suspects fall away, but the notion that Harvard is somehow complicit persists. As the #MeToo movement gathers momentum, friends of Cooper’s start to confide their own experiences of inappropriate behavior by Harvard faculty. She untangles subplots involving allegations of harassment, sexism in tenure battles and other abuses of power, within the anthropology department and the university at large.

“The distance between my world and Jane’s had already become hallucinatorily thin in spots,” she writes, “but the #MeToo movement felt like 1969 had come crashing fully and completely into the present day.”

The story about Jane Britton that Cooper first heard as an undergraduate continues to circulate, she concludes, not because it is true but because of its allegorical import: Bad things happen in academia, especially to women, including at Harvard.

In the end Cooper does learn who killed Britton, but the resolution is marred by the troubling new stories that emerge in its wake — stories that may one day fill another, very different kind of book.

“Because Harvard is older than the U.S. government, in some ways it’s an institution that runs parallel to it,” Cooper said. “It becomes the vessel into which we can funnel all of our imagination about what this ivory tower castle is.”

Harvard may be no better or worse than other institutions confronting similar allegations of abuse that have long gone unaddressed, she said, but its public prominence gives it unusual visibility. As she put it, “Harvard is allowed to function as shorthand, and I don’t think that Harvard’s about to dispel that notion.”

FILM REVIEWS

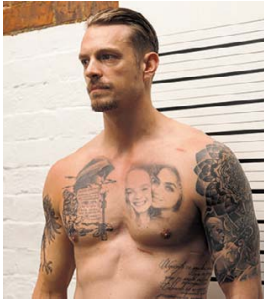
THE INFORMER

Rated R. Violence and corruption. Running time: 1 hour 53 minutes. Rent or buy on Google Play, Vudu and other streaming platforms and pay-TV operators.

In the double-agent saga “The Informer,” the director, Andrea Di Stefano, isn’t going to wow anyone with flashy technique. But the movie has a surfeit of the sudden reversals and interlocking loyalties that can make for an absorbing time killer.

It stars Joel Kinnaman as its main mole, Pete Koslow, a military veteran and ex-convict who has made a deal with the F.B.I. to serve as an informant while running fentanyl for the Polish mob. But his presence at a deal gone wrong — where an undercover New York Police Department officer is killed — puts him in a bind. In a single moment, he becomes persona non grata to his F.B.I. contact (Rosamund Pike) and a suspect for an N.Y.P.D. detective (Common). The killing also cements his obligations to the cartel’s chief, called The General (Eugene Lipinski), the man he was supposed to expose.

The only solution that might



LIAM DANIEL/VERTICAL ENTERTAINMENT

Joel Kinnaman in “The Informer,” directed by Andrea Di Stefano.

satisfy everyone (though not with all the groups’ knowledge, naturally) is for him to go even deeper into cloak-and-dagger territory — by returning to prison, where he’ll traffic drugs for The General while secretly amassing evidence on that same drug ring for the feds.

Is any of this plausible? Probably not, but the movie, based on a Swedish novel and transplanted to New York, escalates quite nicely, laying out how Pete, caught in a web of bureaucratic secrecy, can’t trust his motivationally opposed handlers to protect him or his family. (Ana de Armas

plays Pete’s wife.) And Kinnaman, beefy enough to convincingly fend off a violent prison hit, helps “The Informer” make a few satisfying late forays into action territory.

BEN KENIGSBURG

THE ENDLESS TRENCH

Not rated. In Spanish, with subtitles. Running time: 2 hours 27 minutes. On Netflix.

Set in rural Spain during Gen. Francisco Franco’s dictatorship, “The Endless Trench” tells the story of a man who spends 33 years hidden inside his house for fear of political persecution. It’s a survival drama not unlike “The Revenant” or “127 Hours,” except what Higinio (Antonio de la Torre) must survive are not the elements or the limits of his own body, but, for the most part, isolation and tedium.

Apart from a kinetic opening in which Higinio escapes capture in the Andalusian countryside and returns to his new wife, Rosa (Belén Cuesta), the film unfolds largely indoors. As the years go

by, the central couple (aged impressively by prosthetics) grapple with marital troubles and parenthood amid a life of deception and fear.

“What’s going on in the village?” Higinio asks Rosa at dinner a couple decades into his confinement. “Life, Higinio, I don’t know,” she replies exasperatedly.

It’s fertile thematic ground, but as in most survival movies, showy feats of filmmaking take precedence over insight or revelation. Cuesta and De la Torre play their parts with somber, awards-appropriate dignity, and the film’s glossy production values imbue even blood and grit with a golden-yellow glow. Every emotional beat is underlined with precious visuals: a beam of light illuminating a single tear on Higinio’s face as he watches Rosa’s interrogation through a hole in the wall; Higinio wistfully examining photographs of everyday life under a magnifying glass.

It’s all (neatly rendered) text, with little subtext. The directors Aitor Arregi, Jon Garaño and Jose Mari Goenaga literalize this approach with intertitles — featuring dictionary entries of words like “hide,” “detention,” and “dan-

ger” — that plainly lay out the film’s themes.

DEVIKA GIRISH

OPERATION CHRISTMAS DROP

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 35 minutes. On Netflix.

Everything in “Operation Christmas Drop” falls predictably into place like children nestled all snug in their beds. Each plot point and character dynamic appears predetermined, and not in a seasonally charming way.

The icy and professionally stifled legislative aide, Erica (Kat Graham), is sent by her Grinchy congresswoman boss (Virginia Madsen) to evaluate the efficiency of a U.S. Air Force base in Guam. There, she goes toe to toe with Andrew (Alexander Ludwig), a genial Air Force captain who spearheads the operation of the title, where gifts are parachuted to people on neighboring islands.

He must persuade the Scrooge-like local mayor (Aaron Douglas) to help contribute to the mission of American altruism. And Erica’s

assignment might be aborted in favor of holiday miracles.

That “Operation Christmas Drop” (streaming on Netflix and directed by Martin Wood) is stuffed like a stocking with clichés and tropes is not as bothersome as its unwillingness to put its own spin on those ideas. Even something as minor as an inventive physical gag contrasting the balmy local weather with the traditionally snowy ideal would have gotten this movie’s rusty bells to jingle.

Instead, much of the film feels not light and breezy, but like a self-conscious chore, unwilling to deviate from an established blueprint.

The leads muster barely enough energy to light up a tree, which mars the appeal of what could be pleasantly innocuous viewing. Even if the goal of “Operation Christmas Drop” is to highlight humanitarian efforts made by the military while being a commercial for the Air Force, its forced and halfhearted merriment makes the whole enterprise fatiguing and unconvincing.

The one thing this movie most manages to drop is the ball on enjoyable holiday entertainment.

KYLE TURNER

Fine Arts

Transforming Outrage Into Art

Alison Saar talks about her sculpture, Black Panther imagery and her quest to balance anger and beauty.

By JORI FINKEL

Alison Saar likes to make sculptures of strong Black women standing their ground: broad shoulders, wide stance, unmovable in their convictions.

She made a bronze monument of Harriet Tubman that presides over a traffic island at 122nd Street in Harlem. She created a small army of enslaved girls turned warriors inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's enslaved character Topsy for a major gallery show in Los Angeles.

And now Ms. Saar, 64, has a new public sculpture on the Pomona College campus, commissioned by the Benton Museum of Art there: "Imbue," a 12-foot-tall bronze evoking the Yoruba goddess Yemoja.

"Imbue" accompanies her biggest museum survey yet, "Of Aether and Earthe," which will be held in two venues: the Armory Center for the Arts in Pasadena in January; and the Benton, in Claremont, Calif., where her show is ready to open when state coronavirus guidelines allow.

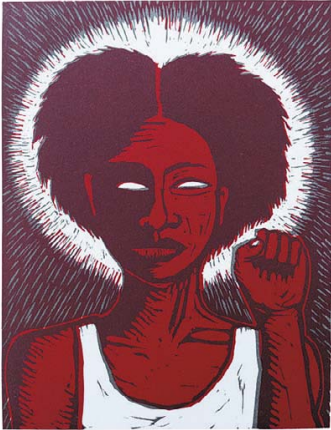
Following are edited excerpts from a conversation with the artist about her new show and ongoing obsessions.

Your new sculpture for Pomona shows Yemoja, the Yoruba goddess associated with childbirth and rivers, carrying a stack of heavy pails on her head. What does Yemoja represent to you?

Yemoja crops up in my work a lot. I first discovered her when I was living in New York in the 1990s, trying to grapple with being a young mother and having a career — it felt like a real balancing act. I did a piece then



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NOLWEN CIFUENTES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ALISON SAAR AND LESLIE ROSS-ROBERTSON OF WAVELENGTH PRESS; L.A. LOUVER

called "Cool Maman," who is balancing actual pots and pans on her head, all white enamelware. I see Yemoja as not only helping me in terms of patience and balance and child rearing but also as a watery, life-giving spirit who nourishes my creative process.

For your "Topsy Turvy" show in 2018 at L.A. Louver, you turned Topsy, the enslaved character from "Uncle Tom's Cabin," into these fierce warrior girls. You even did a mixtape for the show, "Angry Songs for Angry Times." How would you describe the source of your anger, and was it tricky for you to channel or unleash it?

I've always wanted my work not to just be angry but point toward some resolution or express some optimism. But it's been harder and harder to come up with something positive. After Obama was elected, we started seeing these horrible things bubbling up on social media — about growing watermelons at the White House or casting him and Michelle as monkeys.

Since then, with Trump and the white supremacists, things have been getting even darker and more frightening. In "Topsy Turvy," the last piece was "Jubilee," a figure cutting her hair off and dancing, removing the social shackles and all the pain we are carrying around. But it's still a painful piece in my eyes. I basically stopped worrying about putting out a positive message anymore; I felt that it was OK to express being furious.

These figures are defiant but tender; they are beautiful warriors. Do you think about that contradiction?

I think it's always about a balance, and that comes back to the Yemoja character, balancing so much on her head. A lot of my life has been a balancing act between anger and a kind of serenity, and that's also reflected in my process. I start by thinking about things, dreaming about things, but the actual work involves chain saws and hammers and knives and blades and a lot of bandages — I get cut a lot. The physical grappling with materials is very aggressive.

You have a history of using scavenged materials, whether painting on seed sacks or sculpting with ceiling tin. When did you discover ceiling tin as a material, and what does it give you that you couldn't get from more traditional mediums like stone or wood?

When I moved to New York from Los Angeles in the '80s, I had a job at the Studio Museum of Harlem, working as a sort of registrar before I became an artist in residence there. Walking to the museum, I saw all of this amazing ceiling tin out on the curb from people renovating townhouses. I would drag it into my studio. On the one hand, it covered up imperfections in the wood sculpture underneath — I was using wood from the dumpster that had holes and cracks. But it also created a kind of skin or armor. I loved the pattern because it reminded me of African scarification, which in some ways is an external biographer, telling us who you are married to or what group you belong to.

Your Benton show includes a disturbing sculpture, "Conked," where a woman swallows her own long hair, made of wire. I take it the title refers to the old-school hair straightening process?

Conking is a type of hair processing where a lot of really toxic ingredients strip the hair of what makes it curl. Early on one of the ingredients was lye. By straightening her hair, this woman was eating the "lye" or "lie," trying to separate herself from her African-American body, and that's why I show her head separated from her body. I did a lot of severed heads at one point — I guess I've had anger in my work for a while.

Do you think it's fair to say that a survey of your work is also a survey of things Black women do to their hair?

Yes [laughs]. I'm a little obsessed with hair. I think part of it is being biracial and very fair-skinned, to the point of being perceived as white; my hair is the one thing that feels like a real connection to my African-American ancestry. And much of my young life was spent going with my mother to salons and going through these hilarious, hair-

straightening rituals with my cousins in the kitchen.

You recently made a benefit print honoring Black Lives Matter, titled "Rise," which shows a woman making a power fist. Was there a particular source for your image?

I looked at a lot of images of women from the Black Panther movement with their Afros and fists raised and then contemporized the hairstyle to say we're still fighting the same battle. I didn't want it to be one woman. I love Angela Davis, but there are a lot of other women that don't get recognized, and I'm paying tribute to them all. Some people see the Black Panthers as militant and frightening. To me, the women were very much involved in education, free food, taking care of the elderly, these incredible community practices that are always being erased by the image of the guy holding the rifles.

Printmaking is one of the most populist art forms, connected historically to ideas of accessibility and, at times, democracy. Do you see printmaking as a political tool?

I've never really thought of my printmaking as political but very much about it being populist, accessible and affordable. I love the history of broadsides where people would print out a poem and plaster the city with them, and I've done a couple with poets.

You come from a family of artists. Your mother is Betye Saar. Your father, Richard Saar, was a conservator and ceramist. Your sister Lezley Saar is an artist. Did you ever consider doing anything else for a living?

I really wanted after high school to get out from under the shadow of my mother's reputation. So when I was studying at Scripps, I worked with Dr. Samella Lewis and was looking to be an art historian specializing in the African diaspora and non-Western culture. I did a dual major: fine arts and art history. I just think, at the end of it, I felt I was better suited to making art than writing about it. It was more gratifying. It was something I had been trained to do all my life.

JEOPARDY!
CLUE OF THE DAY

FAIRY TALE CHARACTERS

IN FRENCH,
THIS FAIRY TALE
CHARACTER IS
LA PETITE POUCELETTE,
IN SPANISH,
PULGARCITA & IN
ENGLISH, THIS

FOR THE CORRECT
RESPONSE, WATCH
JEOPARDY! TONIGHT
OR LOOK IN THIS
SPACE MONDAY
IN THE TIMES.

Yesterday's Response:
WHAT IS GUERRILLA?

Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

JASON FARAGO | EXHIBITION REVIEW



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Oracle of the Rural World

Continued from page C1

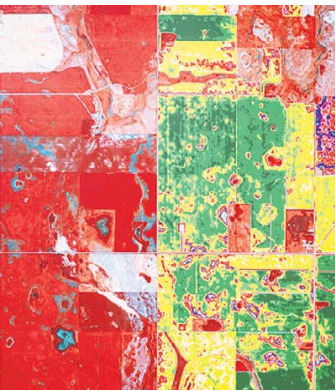
ion,” though the cacophonous exhibition design draws as much from today’s meme culture as from yesterday’s trade expositions. It elicited almost universally negative reviews. What was this, some Prada-sponsored Dutch remake of “Green Acres”? Who do you think you are, jumping on the work of real scholars and the lives of real country folk? And why are you addressing only an urban public . . . in a show on Fifth Avenue?

Well, not for the first time, events have proved Mr. Koolhaas prescient, and both health and political crises have strengthened the show’s suggestion that the city is yesterday’s news. I didn’t love “Countryside” either at first, but, back at the Guggenheim for the first time since March, I found myself more impressed than before with the show’s attention to new forms of rural life — especially the digital technologies that are transforming the countryside, and the massive warehouses and robust delivery systems reshaping rural and urban economies alike.

It plainly remains a messy, random, arch, inconclusive exhibition, and brings the same dispassionate — or cynical — gaze to the countryside that Mr. Koolhaas applied earlier to Chinese urbanization, to the mixing of art and commerce, and to the use and misuse of architectural preservation. There are shallow, cherry-picked assemblages (like a collection of Vogue covers shot in the provinces, featuring Rihanna frolicking in a wheat field) and weird detours (two whole bays on gorilla habitats?). A major blind spot is the exhibition’s indifference to Indigenous populations, and their past and contemporary management of land.

Where it succeeds most is in its insistence on the cosmopolitanism and dynamism of the countryside — where things can happen faster, and ambitions can be greater, than in the stultified cities of the West. Our theaters and nightclubs are gone, municipal shortfalls look certain, and urban-refugee parents are infiltrating the P.T.A.s of farm-country elementary schools. Is it perhaps not time, as Chairman Mao might say, for a return to “Countryside”?

Along the winding museum ramps, Mr. Koolhaas and his team — including Samir Bantal, Troy Conrad Therrien, and three columns’ worth of credited collaborators and students — hopscootch from Siberia to Kenya, from the Mojave Desert to the Japanese mountains, to correct the architectural profession’s urban monomania. The show presents Nazi, Soviet and Maoist agricultural development plans, tacitly admiring their scale and ambition, briefly noting the millions of dead bodies that accompanied them.



SATSHOT; AIRBUS; APPLE MAPS; AMO

There are the socialist schemes of Charles Fourier, who designed self-contained utopian societies for work, study, farming and sex. Visions of Roman villas and Chinese literati gazing at mountains give way to back-to-the-land hippiedom circa Ken Kesey, then to wellness retreats and the eco-bunkers of catastrophist millionaires.

Certainly New Yorkers’ revaluation of the



countryside had begun long before the “Decameron”-style outflows of remote-working urbanites and their families, fleeing the coronavirus last spring. (No point denying that I was one of them. Born in New York, I spent more time in the countryside this year than I have in my entire life, holing up in rural Massachusetts and driving past farms with an equal distribution of Black Lives Matter and Make America Great Again yard signs.) The phrase “farm to table” has been a cliché for years, and Park Slope idealists long ago exported their Marie Antoinette rural fantasies to the Hudson Valley.

Yet the pandemic — now scything through sparsely populated regions as much as dense ones — has judderingly accelerated new encounters between the city and its outskirts. Everyone from the farmers’ market to the real estate brokerage can tell you that the arrival of high-speed broadband in the countryside has flattened the space between urban and rural. Add now the pandemic’s crushing of in-person work, and your life in a Vermont forest or a Barbadian beach town might not look so different from your life in town.

After all, the same digital commerce that has destroyed your Jane Jacobs-approved urban neighborhood has also made possible a whole new life in the countryside, smoothed by just-in-time logistics software, enlivened by deliveries by drone. “What perverted genius thought of the name ‘fulfillment center’?” asks Mr. Koolhaas in an early gallery.

Top, Rem Koolhaas, the man seemingly perched just over Joseph Stalin’s head, gazes out at warehouses in the Nevada desert; the show examines the agricultural plans of Nazi, Soviet and Maoist regimes. Middle, Nazi drawings of the Autobahn accompanied by text connecting its construction to the party’s “blood and soil” rhetoric. Above from left, a detail view of “Precision Farming” (2020); and a reproduction of Paulus Potter’s 1647 painting “The Bull.”

Countryside, the Future
Through Feb. 14 at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, Manhattan; timed tickets are required; guggenheim.org.

Near the end of “Countryside” is a rapturous paean to the Tahoe Reno Industrial Center, in the Nevada desert — said to be the largest industrial zone in the world — whose enormous, windowless warehouses shelter the logistics operations of Walmart, Google, FedEx, and the Pioneer Nut Company. In this deregulated paradise, perfected by algorithms and staffed by robots, the Dutch architect finds a post-human architecture more innovative, and pitiless, than anything back in town. One of the show’s most bitter jokes is a mural-size photo of Mr. Koolhaas’s unmistakable bald head gazing out on the warehouses, in the same rearview pose as Casper David Friedrich’s famous “Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog.” The desert factory, not the megacity, offers the best view of the capitalist sublime.

Perhaps the strongest sections of “Countryside” are devoted to China, with several case studies of villages transformed by new logistics technology and digital commerce platforms. One town has become a leading producer of Ikea-knockoff flat-pack furniture; another has raised living standards by selling organic pumpkins to lodgers in renovated stone houses. (Students at Beijing’s Central Academy of Fine Arts did the research here.) Rural farmers sell apples fresh from the tree on the social network Kuaishou, the country cousin of TikTok. There’s even a replica of the desk of a Chinese provincial official, backed by a film extolling President Xi Jinping’s youth in the Shaanxi countryside.

It was, of course, Mr. Koolhaas’s firm that designed the Beijing headquarters of Chinese state television a decade ago, and mock-Maoist echoes of the Cultural Revolution ripple through this exhibition: intellectuals “learning from the countryside”; bureaucrats sent down to the farm. Its undisguised admiration for Xi’s China, not to mention its almost nostalgic gaze on colonial expansion and Soviet development, doubles down on Mr. Koolhaas’s nonideological admiration for world-reshaping ambitions. “This is what we have lost in the disaster of the modern project: the ability to think big,” he wrote a quarter of a century ago in “S M L XL,” his doorstep book with Bruce Mau.

I’d suggest that the critical drubbing “Countryside” initially received bespeaks a total exhaustion with such grand efforts, and a sense that — for young audiences especially — today’s overlapping emergencies have invalidated the ironic distance encapsulated in that photo of Mr. Koolhaas looking out over the Nevada industrial park.

And yes, there is something dated in Mr. Koolhaas’s go-big approach, and careless in its omnivorous, oversaturated walls of Googled “research” outsourced to architecture students. Certainly this show’s sections on Chinese localism, or Kenyan microfinance, or the physical architecture of the internet, have already been studied far more rigorously elsewhere. Certainly this nail-biter of an election should leave all of us skeptical of the generalizations urban observers make of country life.

But I am not so sure — and I say this as a journalist, Mr. Koolhaas’s first profession — that the always-online urbanites fed up with his irony and affirmation should be so proud of themselves, either. He may have a fatalistic acceptance of the world Xi Jinping and Jeff Bezos have forged, but his cool gaze and his critics’ disdain for big pronouncements do not come from such different places. What “Countryside” does is take seriously the contention that all avant-gardism gets commodified, that dissent is always co-opted, and that under such conditions you might want to get out of town. “More than ever, the city is all we have,” he wrote in “S M L XL.” We don’t even have that anymore.

Cheers!

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Five to Follow

THE INSTAGRAM ACCOUNTS THAT BRIGHTEN OUR ART CRITICS' DAILY FEEDS

A Wandering Imagination

By JASON FARAGO

The last time I was on a plane was in February, returning home from Belgium. Now that I'm homebound, my wanderlust has curdled into an almost pathological hunger to get back in the sky. I dream about airports

at least a few times a month. I open Google Flights out of habit, close the tab, open it again, check prices to Jakarta. On Instagram, at least, I have the delusion of a life still in motion. The social network can make a Portuguese palace or a Nigerian nightclub feel as proximate as the guy in the

pharmacy who won't stay six feet apart. As someone habitually stunned that the infinitude of the Web has resulted in ever more homogeneous feeds, to follow people and institutions from other lands and languages seems as much of a duty as a joy. Here are five far-flung accounts I recommend.



BAYERISCHE SCHLÖSSERVERWALTUNG

BAVARIAN PALACE DEPARTMENT (@SCHLOESSER-VERWALTUNG.BAYERN) The southeastern German state of Bavaria now manages 45 palaces, including the wedding-cake piles of King Ludwig II, who essentially abandoned his royal duties to build some of Europe's most ornate castles. (Most of them have reopened after Covid-19 closures this spring and summer.) The Bavarian glamour photographed here includes the gold-drenched Herrenchiemsee New Palace, an imitation of Versailles built on an island; the fairy-tale Neuschwanstein Castle, teetering on a mountaintop, its walls festooned with murals depicting Wagnerian heroes; the Nymphenburg Palace, at left; and the pink-steeped, flower-festooned Amalienburg pavilion, a hunting lodge that's one of the most sublime works of the late Baroque era. Amalienburg is just about an hour from Munich International Airport; a Rococo-loving boy can dream.



GALERIE PATRICK SEGUIN

JEAN PROUVÉ (@JEANPROUVEARCHITECTURE) I don't need that much space if we get locked down again; just give me a one-bedroom Prouvé house. This account dedicated to the French pioneer of modular construction, managed by Galerie Patrick Seguin in Paris, offers a cornucopia of Jean Prouvé's single-story, industrially manufactured "demountable houses," whose metal parts he designed during World War II. Whether for residential or military use, assembled in France or in Congo, these houses made a virtue of their standardized, repeating aluminum and wood parts, which now appear not just minimally chic but ecologically prudent. Mixed in with new photography of the Prouvé houses are archival images, like a 1954 view of Prouvé's own house in Nancy, France, above.

TYPO SWISS (@TYPOSWISS)

Helvetica fans, you are not alone. This compendium of historical publications highlights the clean, grid-loving graphic layouts of Swiss designers, whose magazines, museum posters, airline promos and furniture ads made typesetting into an art form of its own. Even the government publications, like a 1971 annual report for the Swiss railway system, are impossibly stylish. (And no cheating with PDFs! Each post shows new photographs of the real, frayed publication, paged through against a black backdrop.) It's not all sans-serif precision, though. Mixed in with train timetables and theater playbills are kitschier finds like a 1934-35 Davos travel brochure, featuring a wild photomontage of a disembodied woman's head on the ski slopes.



TYPO SWISS

HAWAII NATIVE PLANTS (@HAWAIIINATIVEPLANTS)

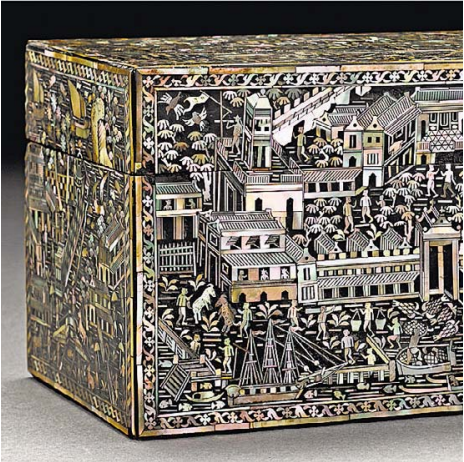
The amateur botanist Allison Baird manages this verdurous showcase of botanical illustrations of Hawaii's species — all captioned with both their Latin and Hawaiian names. But this is much more than your average plant-geek account. As diverse as the flora are the images representing them: an exacting 19th-century watercolor of the Indigenous ka'ape'ape fern; a 1919 black-and-white document of a farmer standing beside a haha lua, which looks like a stunted palm tree; or photographs of a yellow hibiscus or a purple bellflower. My favorite is the carnivorous mikinalo, a plant native to Kauai, with stalks oozing bug-trapping mucilage. The plant's name, in Hawaiian, means "to suck flies."



ISABELLA SINCLAIR

ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS MUSEUM, SINGAPORE (@ACM_SG)

In mid-January, back when air travel seemed as if it could go on forever, I made my first visit to this fascinating museum of fine and decorative arts in Singapore, whose collection maps the ways trade missions, military maneuvers, colonial incursions and religious pilgrimages have brought peoples into contact. The objects posted on the museum's very active Instagram account highlight these back-and-forth influences, like a Javanese skirt cloth decorated with images of Dutch steamships, or an exquisite Thai mother-of-pearl box inlaid with scenes of foreign traders and fishermen in the port of Bangkok, right. A brass betel-nut cutter, forged in 19th-century southern India, is almost too racy for social media: Two lovers sit on either of the two handles, and when you pull to crack the nut, one fondles the other's breast.



VIA ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS MUSEUM, SINGAPORE

The New York Times



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Escape Rooms

In the At-Home Era

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

live remote play, asynchronous point-and-click play, print-and-play, and play by telephone and mail.

“These folks are deeply creative, and they’re scrappy,” said David Spira, who, with his wife, Lisa, founded Room Escape Artist, a review-focused website that also hosts an annual industry conference.

Taken together, these new games constitute a wholesale rethinking of immersion and experience design. Which is to say that escape rooms have, by and large, escaped the room itself.

Escape rooms began in the mid-2000s, most likely in Japan, though the origins remain contested in a depends-on-how-you-define-it kind of way. In most rooms, which can be basic Ikea hacks or triumphs of scenography and product design, a team competes to solve a variety of puzzles and “break out” of the room. (Following an escape-room fire in Poland in 2019, most owners leave doors unlocked throughout facilities, so the breaking is theoretical.)

Though less risky than many forms of live entertainment, nearly all escape rooms in the United States have been threatened by the pandemic.

“The business model is built on being together,” said Haley E. R. Cooper, the artistic director of Strange Bird Immersive, a Houston escape room. “We’re all just completely devastated by this.”

In the spring, a few enterprising rooms shifted to remote play by having a camera-strapped employee enter the space and do a Zoom audience’s bidding. That didn’t work especially well. It takes a lot longer to order someone to manipulate an object than to manipulate it yourself, for one thing, and certain puzzles that delight in-person — guiding a marble through a maze, say — lose a lot in video translation.

“Watching the avatar do it for you? Not fun,” Lisa Spira said.

But as spring turned into summer, the games improved. (Or as David Spira put it, “They went from total trash to some really spectacular stuff.”) Some places, like Mad Genius Escape Rooms, in Portland, Ore., built whole new games around existing rooms. In this case, the Truth About Edith, a fresh narrative inspired by a crazy cat-lady room.

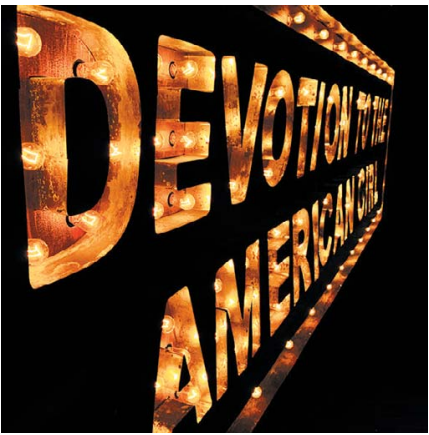
Omescape, which owns three facilities in the Bay Area, figured out how to turn mute avatars into distinct characters. Last month, I watched a group of giddy teenagers play through Omescape’s online game, Pursuit of the Assassin Artist. Their eyes and ears? An actor cast as a feckless secret agent. He obeyed their commands — except when they asked him to sing Cardi B’s “WAP” — and offered subtle and not so subtle hints (“Google it”) when a puzzle stumped them.



CU ADVENTURES



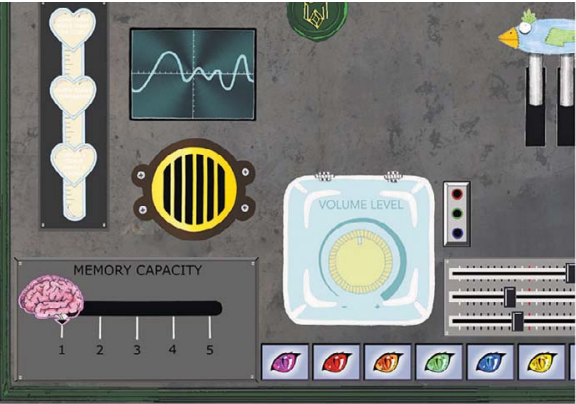
CU ADVENTURES



GARA RODA



CU ADVENTURES



MAD GENIUS ESCAPES LLC



BRADLEY WINKLER



STRANGE BIRD IMMERSIVE



STRANGE BIRD IMMERSIVE

Top center: The Lost Temple had been retired, but its maker revived it with a companion website. Above from left: Players work together to solve the Truth About Edith; Wesley Whitson performs in “The Strange Secret of Mr. Adrian Rook,” an online theater piece. Far left, Haley E.R. Cooper in “Adrian Rook.” Left, the piece includes a so-called wall of strange.

MINORU YOSHIDA

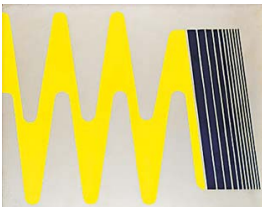
Through Sunday. Ulterior Gallery, 172 Attorney Street, Manhattan; 917-472-7784, ulteriorgallery.com.

Minoru Yoshida grew up playing the piano, studied painting in Kyoto, Japan, and briefly ran a kimono-dyeing firm before joining the avant-garde artists group Gutai in 1965. In 1970 he moved to New York, where he spent eight years staging futuristic performances — think synthesizers and plexiglass — before returning to Japan, where he continued performing and making art until his death in 2010.

You can see it all in the eight hypnotic paintings that make up

“Wave of Light” at Ulterior Gallery on the Lower East Side. Made in the mid to late 1960s and never before exhibited in the United States, they feature hard-edge sine waves, circles and stripes with hypnotically ambiguous effects. The angled red lines that climb a matte-silver background in “Just Curve ‘Red’” get thinner as they ascend, evoking both depth and motion without quite settling on either, while their stark bend subtly brings to mind the iconic triangle of Mount Fuji.

A yellow sine wave, in a 1965 canvas with title unknown, crashes into another set of diminishing stripes, this one dark blue. You might think of a diagram on a stereo receiver, somewhere between the AM/FM switch and the



A Minoru Yoshida canvas from 1965, title unknown. Is it an image from a stereo receiver, or a flag from outer space?

volume knob. But the wave form is a little too thick for that, the colors too bold, the whole composition too grand and dreamy. Call it instead the flag for some hypothetical commune on the moon. WILL HEINRICH

CAITLIN CHERRY

Through Nov. 15. The Hole, 312 Bowery, Manhattan; 212-466-1100, theholenyc.com.

The prismatic paintings in “Crichoues Indignation,” Caitlin Cherry’s show at the Hole in the East Village, delight in double entendre. They expand on the world Ms. Cherry laid out in an online room earlier this year — densely layered, kaleidoscopic compositions of women employed at a Brooklyn cabaret. In “Crichoues Indignation,” she paints dancers, servers and Instagram models — all young Black women whose bodies are primary to their livelihoods — the canonical female nude as online influencer.

Ms. Cherry, whose work collides painting and sculpture, is interested in the way Black culture — specifically Black womanhood — propagates online and inevitably becomes commodified. She’s also interested in how we consume that information, which often means digitally. Barely legible numbers hover like ghosts over her subjects’ bodies, hinting at the algorithms that govern online life, but also watermarks that deter copyright infringement. Ms. Cherry builds in Fauvist, mesmeric bands of color so that, depending on where a viewer stands, the fields of a painting, like “69 Syntax City,” dance like rippling silk, aping a photographic moiré effect that interrupts the image. Each paint-

ing features a small window of a male figure sourced from streaming sites, their intrusion a deference to our Zoom-addled existence, and the pesky, persistent male gaze. Ms. Cherry’s paintings aim to short-circuit the idea of looking.

In the back of the gallery, a massive structure resembling a computer server houses images from the earlier online exhibition printed on retractable scrolls — the online returned to the material plane, almost. One panel is accessible only via secret code, provided by Ms. Cherry to her “close friends” on Instagram, a subtle institutional critique, of the sale of editioned digital art, a reminder that there’s more than one way to control beauty. MAX LAKIN

Election 2020

The New York Times



TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After a campaign that exposed deep rifts in the country, each announcement of new vote totals stoked varying degrees of relief, outrage and anxiety among competing factions.

INSIDE

A county-by-county map shows where record turnout buoyed Joseph R. Biden Jr. and where it lifted President Trump.

PAGE P3

The president’s relatively wide margin of victory in Florida has people there doubting its swing-state status.

PAGE P7

The uncertainty surrounding the American election has set off a fierce debate in an unlikely place: Russia.

PAGE P11



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump offered no evidence to back his claim that Democrats were stealing the election.

COUNT CONTINUES

Biden Adds to Gains And Urges Patience With Vote Count

From Page A1

group of maverick lawmakers in the party denounced his comments, seeking to reassure voters that there was no reason to believe the integrity of the election had been undermined.

Representative Adam Kinzinger, Republican of Illinois and a frequent critic of Mr. Trump, offered the sharpest rebuke, saying “this is getting insane” and demanding that the president stop “spreading debunked misinformation.”

Larry Hogan, the Republican governor of Maryland, wrote, “There is no defense for the President’s comments tonight undermining our Democratic process.”

Yet there were also Republican lawmakers who rushed to Mr. Trump’s defense, siding with him in falsely asserting that the vote counting was illegal and Democrats were trying to cheat. “Radical Dems tried to do away with law and order and are now trying to do away with law and order at the ballot box,” Representative Roger Williams of Texas wrote.

With the world watching to see if one of the most unusual presidencies in the country’s history was coming to an end, America’s patchwork of electoral laws created a confusing and angst-inducing day for both parties, to say nothing of millions of Americans eager for the campaign’s conclusion.

Mr. Biden’s advantage in Arizona, a state The Associated Press has already called for the former vice president, narrowed as thousands of votes were tabulated. But in Georgia and Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump saw his early advantage dwindle as mail-in ballots were counted.

Until Mr. Trump’s remarks on Thursday night, he had not appeared in public since he used a middle-of-the-night appearance

Reporting was contributed by Nick Corasaniti in Philadelphia, Richard Fausset in Atlanta, and Jennifer Medina and Simon Romero in Phoenix.

Wednesday to insist he had already won. But he has posted angry Twitter messages, and he continued to do so Thursday.

“All of the recent Biden claimed States will be legally challenged by us for Voter Fraud and State Election Fraud,” he said in one message, without elaborating on what precisely that would involve. “STOP THE COUNT!” he exclaimed in another tweet.

Rebuking the president, Twitter labeled some of the messages “disputed” and said they “might be misleading about an election or other civic process.”

In any event, stopping the count now would only ensure that Mr. Biden wins the presidency, be-

A win in Pennsylvania would give Biden the presidency.

cause he is leading in Arizona and Nevada — states that together would give him 270 electoral votes.

The presidential contest was not the only tight race drawing attention. A key Georgia Senate race that could decide the majority in the chamber grew even closer as Senator David Perdue, a Republican, saw his vote share slip under 50 percent in his race against Jon Ossoff, a Democrat. If neither wins a majority, the race would head to a January runoff, setting up the prospect of a hotly contested battle for two Senate seats in Georgia. A runoff is already planned in the special election for the state’s other seat.

On Thursday, an array of Mr. Trump’s political surrogates fanned out to some of the contested states to rally his supporters. And the president’s lawyers filed lawsuits in several states questioning the integrity of the vote count in hopes of slowing down the process.

He suffered two legal setbacks on Thursday when judges in Georgia and Michigan ruled against his campaign. But Mr. Trump notched a minor victory in Pennsylvania when a state appellate court acceded to its request to force Philadelphia election officials to grant its election observers better access to areas where workers are counting ballots.

With the counting proceeding slowly in the West, much of the focus on Thursday fell on Pennsylvania, where a victory would deliver Mr. Biden the presidency no matter the results in the other states, the top election official in the state said on Thursday evening that counties were “still counting” and did not offer any timetable for when the tally would be complete.

Mr. Trump’s lead in the state was shrinking as mail-in ballots were counted in the heavily Democratic cities and suburbs.

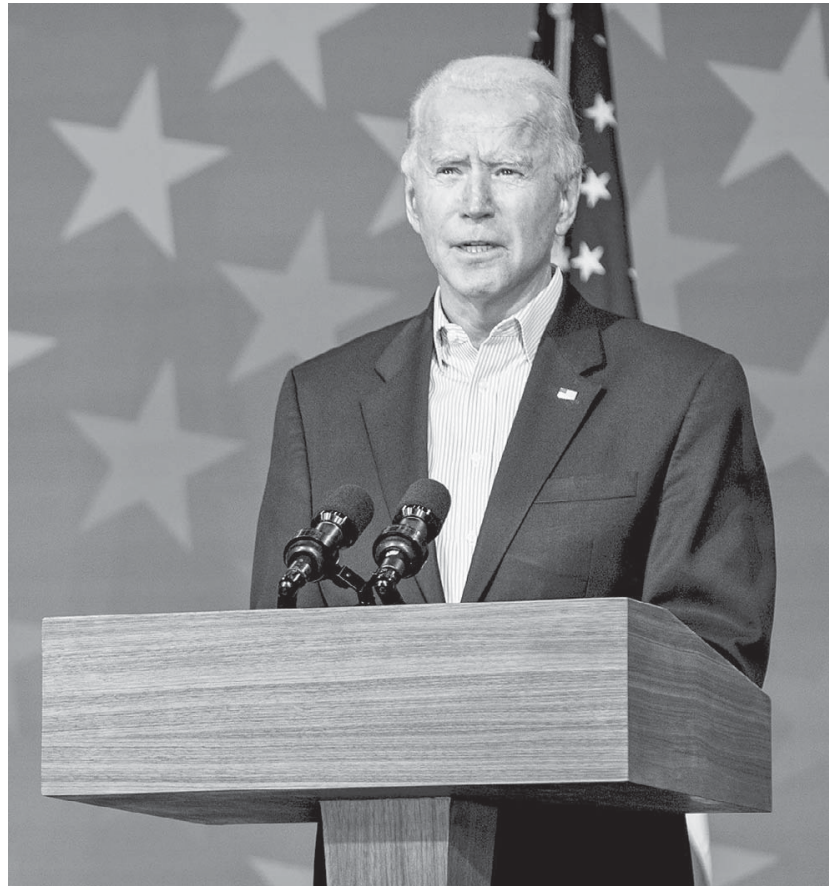
The two parties held dueling news conferences in Philadelphia early in the day, with Mr. Trump’s supporters insisting his lead would hold statewide and the city’s Democrats, led by former Representative Robert A. Brady, unveiling an analysis of the remaining vote count that concluded Mr. Biden would win Pennsylvania convincingly.

In Georgia, the counting of ballots in numerous counties continued to erode Mr. Trump’s advantage in the traditionally Republican state: By Thursday night, he was leading by about 2,500 votes out of nearly five million cast.

Tens of thousands of ballots remained to be counted in the state late in the day, including many in Chatham County, a Democratic-leaning county along the Georgia coast that is home to Savannah, and many thousands more from Atlanta-area counties that also lean Democratic.

Georgia’s Republican Party has said it plans to bring up to a dozen lawsuits in the state.

In Arizona, Mr. Biden’s lead was down to about 46,000 votes, significantly less than it was on election



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joseph R. Biden Jr. speaking in Wilmington, Del. He may be closing in on an electoral majority.

Where Biden Won: 253 Electoral Votes

Boldface: swing states that were most contested
■ Winning party flipped from 2016

	ELECTORAL VOTES		PERCENTAGE OF VOTES COUNTED AS OF 9:51 P.M. EASTERN		BIDEN VOTES/ PCT. OF TOTAL		TRUMP VOTES/ PCT. OF TOTAL
Calif.	55	77%			8,180,018 65%		4,152,425 33%
N.Y.	29	84%			4,235,888 58%		2,933,947 40%
Ill.	20	87%			2,931,029 55%		2,300,485 43%
■ Mich.	16	>98%			2,795,714 50%		2,648,818 48%
N.J.	14	71%			1,914,566 60%		1,254,266 39%
Va.	13	>98%			2,363,675 54%		1,951,280 44%
Wash.	12	93%			2,230,040 60%		1,425,324 38%
Mass.	11	92%			2,231,100 65%		1,107,738 32%
Md.	10	70%			1,367,129 63%		759,962 35%
■ Minn.	10	96%			1,714,019 52%		1,481,847 45%
■ Wis.	10	>98%			1,630,541 49%		1,610,007 49%
Colo.	9	94%			1,723,455 55%		1,316,021 42%
Conn.	7	93%			1,012,230 59%		685,628 40%
Ore.	7	97%			1,301,643 57%		925,017 40%
N.M.	5	>98%			499,903 54%		402,312 44%
Hawaii	4	>98%			365,802 64%		196,602 34%
Maine*	3	90%			413,817 54%		332,978 43%
■ N.H.	4	>98%			420,218 53%		363,345 46%
R.I.	4	96%			297,073 59%		195,997 39%
D.C.	3	80%			258,561 93%		14,449 5%
Del.	3	>98%			295,412 59%		199,857 40%
Vt.	3	95%			227,230 65%		111,131 32%

Where Trump Won: 214 Electoral Votes

Texas	38	97%		5,219,611	46%	5,874,962	52%
Fla.	29	96%		5,269,926	48%	5,646,949	51%
Ohio	18	90%		2,576,590	45%	3,038,247	53%
Ind.	11	96%		1,196,933	40%	1,699,706	57%
Tenn.	11	>98%		1,139,364	37%	1,849,791	61%
Mo.	10	>98%		1,242,851	41%	1,711,847	57%
Ala.	9	>98%		834,968	36%	1,430,540	62%
S.C.	9	>98%		1,088,238	44%	1,379,063	55%
Ky.	8	96%		755,724	36%	1,330,080	63%
La.	8	>98%		855,597	40%	1,255,482	58%
Okla.	7	96%		503,289	32%	1,018,870	65%
Ark.	6	>98%		420,984	34%	764,246	63%
Iowa	6	92%		757,681	45%	896,355	53%
Kan.	6	>98%		542,646	41%	748,608	57%
Miss.	6	78%		405,806	39%	614,560	59%
Utah	6	87%		440,012	38%	685,707	58%
Neb.*	4	98%		362,038	39%	544,150	59%
W.Va.	5	>98%		232,502	30%	539,610	69%
Idaho	4	>98%		286,355	33%	549,126	64%
Mont.	3	>98%		243,714	40%	341,763	57%
N.D.	3	91%		114,687	32%	234,962	65%
S.D.	3	>98%		150,470	36%	261,108	62%
Wyo.	3	>98%		73,445	27%	193,454	70%

Not Called: 71 Electoral Votes

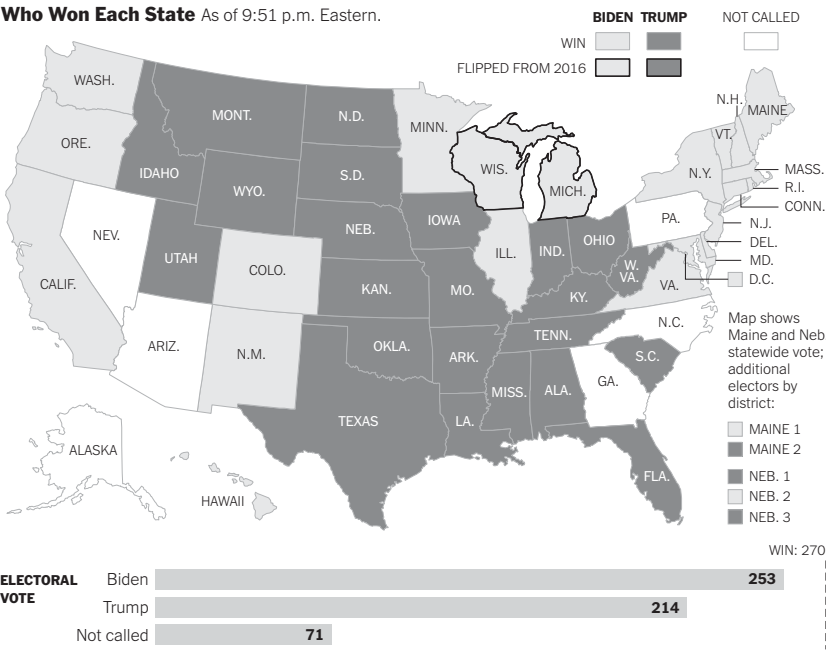
Pa.	20	94%		3,235,776	49%	3,277,918	50%
Ga.	16	>98%		2,445,321	49%	2,447,223	49%
N.C.	15	95%		2,655,383	49%	2,732,120	50%
Ariz.	11	90%		1,528,319	50%	1,482,062	48%
Nev.	6	89%		604,251	49%	592,813	48%
Alaska	3	56%		56,849	33%	108,231	63%

Total **73,648,393 51% 69,618,989 48%**

*The number of electoral votes shown for Maine and Nebraska may be fewer than their total electoral votes because they also award votes to the winner of each congressional district.

Source: National Election Pool/Edison Research (election results)

Who Won Each State As of 9:51 p.m. Eastern.



IDAHO President Trump dominated in mostly rural, solidly red states like Idaho, where he won by more than 30 percentage points in both 2016 and 2020.

WISCONSIN Joseph R. Biden Jr. flipped Wisconsin, claiming 20,000 more votes than Mr. Trump, thanks in part to voters in cities and suburbs.

PENNSYLVANIA Mr. Biden slightly narrowed margins in rural counties compared with 2016, but Mr. Trump gained even more support from his base.

Mr. Biden won 38 percent of the vote in **Washington County** compared with Hillary Clinton's 35 percent in 2016, but Mr. Trump gained more raw votes.

WEST COAST Mr. Biden easily won the reliably blue states on the coast — California, Oregon and Washington — with 16 to 32 percentage point margins.

ARIZONA Mr. Trump won this longtime Republican bastion by 3.5 percentage points in 2016, but growing support from Latino voters has helped give Mr. Biden a narrow lead in this election.

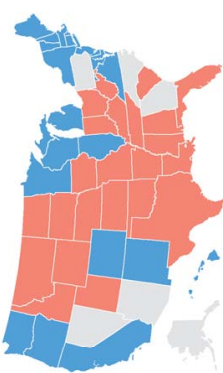
TEXAS The Rio Grande Valley shifted decisively toward Mr. Trump. Mrs. Clinton won rural **Starr County** by 60 percentage points in 2016. Mr. Biden won it by only five.

GEORGIA Mr. Biden's core of support was in Atlanta, with many surrounding suburbs trending toward Mr. Trump.

Several Atlanta suburbs and **Columbia County**, near Augusta, swung more than 10 points to the left for Mr. Biden compared with the 2016 vote.

FLORIDA Mr. Biden flipped Duval County but lost enough votes in populous Miami-Dade County to allow Mr. Trump to win the state with a margin that is nearly three times what he had in 2016.

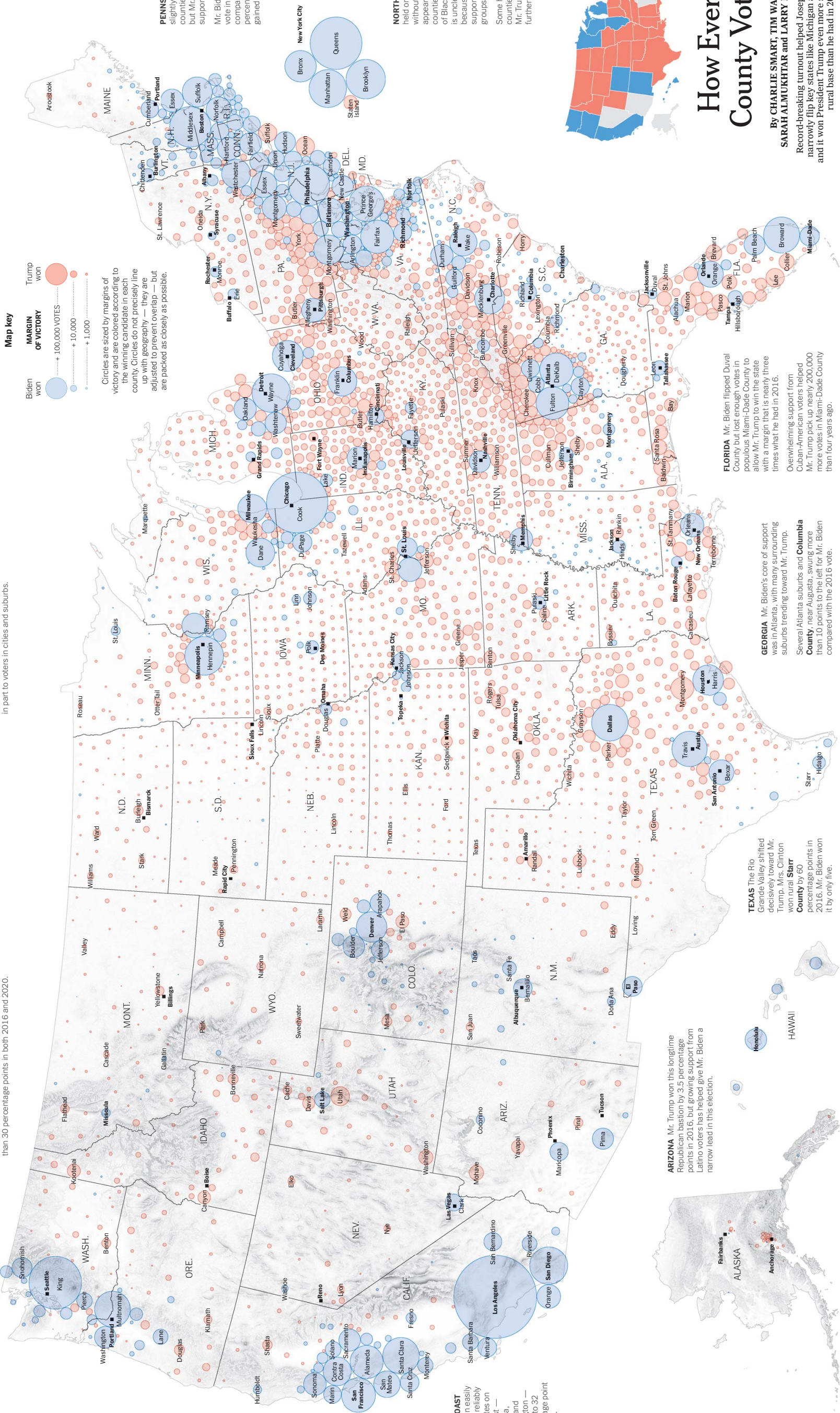
Overwhelming support from Cuban-American voters helped Mr. Trump pick up nearly 200,000 more votes in Miami-Dade County than four years ago.



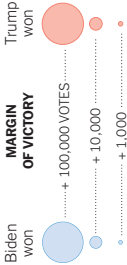
How Every County Voted

By **CHARLIE SMART**, **TIM WALLACE**, **SARAH ALMUKHTAR** and **LARRY BUCHANAN**

Record-breaking turnout helped Joseph R. Biden Jr. narrowly flip key states like Michigan and Wisconsin, and it won President Trump even more support from his rural base than he had in 2016.



Map key



Circles are sized by margins of victory and are colored according to the winning candidate in each county. Circles do not precisely line up with geography — they are adjusted to prevent overlap — but are packed as closely as possible.

ATTACKING THE COUNT

A Presidency Rooted in an Outlandish Claim Could Well End the Same Way

By PETER BAKER
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — Even for President Trump, it was an imagined version of reality, one in which he was not losing but the victim of a wide-ranging conspiracy stretching across the country in multiple cities, counties and states, involving untold numbers of people all somehow collaborating to steal the election in ways he could not actually explain.

Never mind that Mr. Trump presented not a shred of evidence during his first public appearance since late on election night or that few if any senior Republican officeholders endorsed his false claims. A presidency born in a lie about Barack Obama's birthplace appeared on the edge of ending in a lie about his own faltering bid for re-election.

“If you count the legal votes, I easily win,” Mr. Trump said Thursday night in an unusually subdued, 17-minute televised statement from the lectern in the White House briefing room, complaining that Democrats, the news media, pollsters, big technology companies and everyday election workers had all corruptly sought to deny him a second term.

“This is a case where they’re trying to steal an election,” he said. “They’re trying to rig an election, and we can’t let that happen.”

He convinced few people who were not already in his corner. Most of the television networks cut away from the statement on the grounds that what Mr. Trump was saying was not true. On CNN, former Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, a Republican often put in the position of defending Mr. Trump over the years, appeared exasperated as he denounced the president's loose talk of election thievery as “dangerous” and “shocking” and declared that “counting absentee ballots and counting mail-in ballots is not fraud.”

The New York Post, which published salacious articles on Hunter Biden planted by Mr. Trump's associates before the election, headlined an article: “Downcast Trump Makes Baseless Election Fraud Claims in White House Address.” Even Fox News noted it had seen no “hard evidence” of widespread wrongdoing.

“There is no defense for the President's comments tonight undermining our Democratic process,” Gov. Larry Hogan, Republican of Maryland, wrote on Twitter shortly after the president's appearance. “America is

Peter Baker reported from Washington, and Maggie Haberman from New York.

BATTLEGROUND

Secretaries of State in Spotlight as Trump Sows Doubts on Ongoing Ballot Counts

This article is by **Shane Goldmacher**, **Nick Corasaniti** and **Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs**.

PHILADELPHIA — They typically operate behind the scenes and far from the spotlight. But as the final count in the 2020 presidential election drags on and President Trump assaults the integrity of the results, otherwise obscure secretaries of state, election commissioners and clerks have found their every utterance meriting breaking news interruptions and all-caps cable chyrons.

With the occupant of the White House hinging on the results in Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arizona and Nevada, the Trump campaign has sought to ratchet up pressure on election officials, threatening legislation and trying to shape public opinion with carnival-like events. The president's eldest son, Don Jr., even tried to make support of the effort a litmus test of the 2024 Republican presidential primary.

“Everyone should be watching who is actually fighting this flagrant nonsense and who is sitting on the sidelines,” he wrote Thursday afternoon on Twitter. An hour later, he fumed, “The total lack of action from virtually all of the ‘2024 GOP hopefuls’ is pretty amazing.”

Through it all, election administrators have continued to diligently tabulate the votes.

“Fast is great, and we appreciate fast; we more appreciate accuracy,” said Gabriel Sterling, the voting system implementation manager in Georgia, who serves under the Republican secretary of state and lists himself as a conservative in his Twitter bio. He urged patience Thursday in news conferences — at least one of which aired on CNN — as he announced the county-by-county vote counts that slimmed Mr. Trump's lead to a sliver.

“Accuracy is going to be the bedrock upon which people will

David Philipps and Richard Fausset contributed reporting.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump on Thursday night, moments after he accused Democrats, pollsters, elections workers and the news media of fraud.

counting the votes, and we must respect the results as we always have before. No election or person is more important than our Democracy.”

With his presidency on the line, Mr. Trump's lonely appearance in the briefing room with no allies joining him and only staff members and reporters in attendance underscored how isolated he has become just two days after Election Day. With vote counts in key states turning grimmer even as he spoke, Mr. Trump was poised to end this term in office the way he began his presidential campaign in 2015 — defended most vocally by family members and a few loyalists while Republican leaders held him at arm's length rather than embrace outlandish claims.

With Republican members of Congress largely staying silent or issuing anodyne comments, Mr. Trump was left to dispatch his two adult sons to hold news conferences in Pennsylvania and Georgia to protest aspects of the vote count. They were accompanied by allies like Rudolph W. Giuliani, his personal lawyer, and Corey Lewandowski, his first campaign manager from 2016. The same scene played out in Nevada, where a Trump ally, Richard Grenell, made claims about voting

fraud that news outlets debunked a short time later.

Members of Mr. Trump's inner circle sounded almost desperate as they sought to threaten other Republicans into backing Mr. Trump. Both Donald Trump Jr. and Eric Trump posted messages on Twitter complaining that Republicans were not standing with their father, especially those who may want his support if they run for president in four years.

“The total lack of action from virtually all of the ‘2024 GOP hopefuls’ is pretty amazing,” Donald Trump Jr. wrote. “They have a perfect platform to show that they’re willing & able to fight but they will cower to the media mob instead.”

“Where are Republicans!” Eric Trump added less than an hour and a half later. “Have some backbone. Fight against this fraud. Our voters will never forget you if your sheep!”

Brad Parscale, who was removed this year as the president's campaign manager, echoed the theme in more menacing terms. “If you want to win in 2024 as a Republican,” he wrote, “I would probably start saying something.”

On the Fox Business Channel, one of the president's favorite anchors, Lou Dobbs, raised his voice

as he interviewed Mr. Grenell, the former acting director of national intelligence, and demanded to know why the attorney general, William P. Barr, had not found some way to intervene.

But they were among the few who spoke up to echo Mr. Trump's refrain that he was being denied his due in the form of winning the election, a primal scream emanating from the president that was summed up earlier in the day by his own angry, plaintive, all-caps tweet: “STOP THE COUNT!”

Many of those who did comment merely said they wanted “transparency” or for all “legal” votes to be counted, a phrase used by Vice President Mike Pence on Twitter that was intended to sound as if he was echoing Mr. Trump. Inside Mr. Trump's circle, Kellyanne Conway, his former counselor, was one of the few telling him to support counting all the votes.

For much of the year, some Trump advisers questioned whether the president actually wanted a second term, or if he simply did not want to be seen as the worst epithet in his lexicon: a loser. The answer still was not clear as the votes were being tallied this week.

He sounded dejected on Thurs-

day evening as he went through a litany of random minor incidents involving ballots, called Philadelphia and Detroit “corrupt” and insisted he had actually won an election in which former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. was leading by millions of votes nationally and appeared likely to assemble a majority in the Electoral College once a handful of swing states finished counting.

Mr. Trump bemoaned how many by-mail votes appeared to be cast for Democrats. “They’re finding ballots all of a sudden: ‘Oh, we have some mail-in ballots,’” he said. “It’s amazing how those mail-in ballots are so one-sided.” He glossed over the fact that he had spent months telling his supporters that mail-in balloting was corrupt and urging them to vote in person instead.

He likewise lashed out at others, as well, seeking many to blame for his troubles. “The pollsters got it knowingly wrong,” he said. (In fact, they did get many results wrong but there is no evidence that it was intentional.)

“The voting apparatus of those states are run in all cases by Democrats,” he said of states still counting. (In fact, Georgia and Arizona have Republican governors.)



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Corey Lewandowski, above, a former Trump campaign manager, announces a court order that gives poll watchers closer access to ballot counting in Philadelphia. Secretary of State Kathy Boockvar, below, said she is unaware of any credible accusation of fraud.



JULIO CORTIZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ing and an online supplemental dashboard for mail-in ballots earned live coverage on MSNBC, Fox News and CNN.

The fight in Pennsylvania was so intense that least two groups were airing postelection TV ads, with one urging that every vote be counted and another explaining the process.

“It may take a little longer than we’re used to — even a few days,” says Tom Wolf, the governor of Pennsylvania and a Democrat, in one of the ads. “But that’s OK, because it’s critical that your vote is

counted.”

Unlike other states, Pennsylvania election officials were prevented from tabulating mail ballots in advance of Election Day by a state law the Republicans in the state Capitol blocked changing, and that has prolonged the count. But Lisa Schaefer, executive director of the bipartisan County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania, which includes election officials across the state, said there was no evidence of inappropriate ballots being counted.

“We are focused on integrity and security and accuracy every step of the way,” she said, adding that the Trump campaign's comments were simply “making things more confused.”

In Georgia, a lawsuit filed by the Trump campaign claiming that absentee ballots had been mishandled by Chatham County elections officials was dismissed Thursday by a superior court judge — a blow to the first of what the Georgia Republican Party said Wednesday would be up to a dozen lawsuits targeting counties still counting votes.

In Nevada, where Mr. Biden's narrow lead expanded slightly on Thursday, dozens of flag-waving supporters of Mr. Trump gathered at the Clark County election center in North Las Vegas Thursday morning to protest that the election was being stolen. Trucks with Trump flags circled the block, some gunning their engines and honking their horns.

Richard Grenell, a Trump adviser who served in his administration as acting director of national intelligence, held a news conference there to level accusations that “illegal votes” were being counted. Again, he provided no specific evidence.

Joe Gloria, registrar of voters in Clark County, which includes Las Vegas, held a news conference of his own at the election center and said county officials had established “security at all of its entrances.”

“We are not aware of any improper ballots that are being processed,” he added.

False rumors that using a Sharpie could invalidate a ballot, which began in Arizona, reached into neighboring New Mexico, where the secretary of state, Maggie Toulouse Oliver, said people were calling her office worried that, because they had used a marker to fill out their ballot, their vote would be invalidated.

Ms. Toulouse Oliver, who is also the president of the National Association of Secretaries of State,

“We won a case, a big case,” he said. (In fact, the campaign simply won a court ruling saying that observers should be allowed to stand six feet away from counting rather than further away.)

After he was done, the president took no questions from reporters and marched out of the room, looking glum. It was the kind of appearance that several aides had said made them happy he had remained out of public view since the early hours of Wednesday morning, when he insisted he had won the election as several key states still had not had a projected winner and called what was taking place a “fraud” on the American public.

The Trump campaign is filing a series of lawsuits, but allies of the White House have said the approach seems to be aimed at both running out the clock and appeasing a litigious president, who often turns to legal filings as an immediate course of action.

But while Mr. Trump has some experienced lawyers and political professionals leading his campaign, the public effort to raise questions about the election has been disjointed and appeared thrown together at the last minute. Some administration officials said they were mortified by the footage of Mr. Giuliani bellowing in Philadelphia.

Some of Mr. Trump's allies have encouraged the call for a blitz of legal action, including people like Stephen K. Bannon, the former White House chief strategist who faces criminal charges for an allegedly fraudulent scheme scamming supporters of Mr. Trump's border wall.

Republicans have begun having discussions about how to broach the topic with Mr. Trump of focusing on life after the presidency, and what leaving quietly could mean for his family, his business and his own ability to remain in politics.

Some have suggested that sounding notes of encouragement about a 2024 campaign could be effective. Others believe that he will concede if it is clear he has lost, but that he will most likely never publicly accept the result.

In the meantime, Mr. Trump's advisers were divided on what he should be doing until the final vote counts are announced. There were some discussions about his holding a rally as soon as this weekend, one person briefed on the talks said.

But after Mr. Trump's briefing room appearance, several advisers conceded that the clock on the Trump presidency was almost certainly winding down.

2020 Election



BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trump supporters on Thursday sought access to a ballot-processing site in Las Vegas where officials were holding a news conference.

DISINFORMATION

A Frenzied Rush of Falsehoods From the Top

From Page A1

tinuation of a diatribe he had started earlier in the day with a tweet reading “STOP THE FRAUD!” that Twitter quickly flagged as containing information that “might be misleading.”

Mr. Trump and his campaign aides had long indicated that they would challenge any unwelcome result with charges that the election was being stolen through “voter fraud,” which is in fact exceedingly rare.

On Thursday, senior aides to Mr. Biden portrayed the disinformation push as part of a desperate, coordinated campaign that, in tandem with the president’s legal strategy to press lawsuits against election officials across the country, was intended to halt a count that seemed likely to end Mr. Trump’s presidency.

“This is part of a broader misinformation campaign that involves some political theater,” Bob Bauer, a senior adviser to Mr. Biden, told reporters. “All of this is intended to create a large cloud that it is the hope of the Trump campaign that nobody can see through. But it is not a very thick cloud, it’s not hard to see what they’re doing — we see through it; so will the courts, and so will election officials.”

If there was little indication that the disinformation push was helping the Trump campaign in court, where it was seeking to use small instances of worker error or technical fouls to challenge Democratic ballots, it nonetheless seemed likely to do one thing: persuade a large swath of American voters that any Biden presidency was being stolen through illegal and unconstitutional means.

“This country is too corrupt, I’m so angry,” said Min Liu, who drove down from New York City to join protests in Philadelphia supporting Mr. Trump. “The Democrats are cheating right now, and the people need to wake up.”

She was not alone. By Wednesday and well into Thursday, the media campaign was spilling into the real world with similar protests in Detroit, Phoenix and elsewhere. Some were led by notorious alt-right trolls, like Mike Cernovich, who rose to national prominence in 2016 pushing the Pizzagate conspiracy theory, a precursor to the QAnon movement that falsely claimed that powerful Democrats were running a child-trafficking ring out of the basement of a Washington pizza restaurant that, in reality, has no basement.

Now, Mr. Cernovich is pushing a message of widespread election fraud in lock step with the president, his children and well-established members of his inner circle, like his personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Taken together, the media activity and the protests were emerging as a national and online version of the “Brooks Brothers riot” in the aftermath of the 2000 presidential election, when preppy Republican operatives, claiming fraud, stormed the Miami-Dade County canvassing board in Florida and effectively halted recount efforts that were expected to benefit the Democratic candidate, Al Gore.

A “Stop the Steal” Facebook page, created on Wednesday to help organize groups to flood ballot-counting centers with “observers,” quickly amassed nearly 300,000 members before the social network stepped in and shut it down on Thursday afternoon. Facebook said it saw worrying calls for violence in the group,

Ben Decker contributed reporting.



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protesters flocked to the Philadelphia Convention Center on Thursday as the count continued.

which was “organizing around the delegitimization of the election process.”

The Facebook page was started by a Republican activist named Kylie Jane Kremer. It followed on a “Stop the Steal” group, with a similar playbook, created in 2016 by Roger J. Stone Jr., the self-described Republican dirty trickster and Trump confidant. (Mr. Stone was convicted on charges stemming from the Russia investigation but had his sentence commuted by Mr. Trump.)

Mr. Biden’s aides said later in interviews that they did not believe that anyone beyond Mr. Trump’s most die-hard supporters would question the legitimacy of a Biden victory. They pointed to statements from prominent Republicans dismissing Mr. Trump’s un-

Claims questioning the election, driven by the far right.

substantiated attacks on the voting system. And they said they were heartened by a striking split at Fox News: While its prime-time hosts have parroted elements of Mr. Trump’s unfounded missives, its decision desk has not been shy in calling states for Mr. Biden, and several of its journalists have challenged dubious claims by Mr. Trump and his supporters.

The president and his allies have nonetheless relied heavily on the broader conservative media ecosystem to lob accusations against election officials, and then quickly moved to amplify them.

On Wednesday, the president shared two articles from Breitbart on Twitter. One falsely claimed that officials in Detroit had barred ballot-counting observers, even though both campaigns had the maximum number of observers allowed inside the building. Another Breitbart post shared by the president rounded up criticism from conservative influencers on social media of Josh Shapiro, the Democratic attorney general of the still-contested state of Pennsylvania, as evidence of calls for him to “step aside.”

Searches related to the keywords “steal” or “stealing” in the context of the election had more than 1.2 million mentions across social media platforms from 11 a.m. Tuesday to 11 a.m. Thursday, according to Signal Labs, a firm that monitors disinformation.

Michigan was leading the way with more than 96,000 mentions, followed by Pennsylvania at roughly 80,000 mentions and Arizona at just over 46,000.

Followers of QAnon, the convoluted pro-Trump conspiracy theory that falsely claims that the president is fighting a deep-state cabal of Democratic Satanist pedophiles, were eagerly joining in with claims of election fraud. It fit their imagined narrative perfectly — only widespread fraud by the deep state could defeat Mr. Trump, a man whom many QAnon followers venerate as something akin to divine.

There were indications that at least some parts of the campaign were planned in advance of Election Day.

A young conservative activist, John Doyle, who runs a YouTube channel called Heck Off, Commie!, was circulating a Google doc that encouraged people to head off the purported fraud in Pennsylvania and lobby state legislators “to cast their electoral votes as Republican!” The document, which listed the names and numbers of all the state’s legislators, was created on Tuesday — that is, before the president or his allies were claiming the election was being stolen in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Doyle did not respond to a request for comment, and his Twitter account, @ComradeDoyle, was suspended on Thursday for violating the platform’s terms of service. Mark Levin, a popular conservative radio host and ardent Trump supporter, echoed Mr. Doyle’s call for Republican state legislators to disregard the outcome of the voting. In a tweet on Thursday, he wrote: “REMINDER TO THE REPUBLICAN STATE LEGISLATURES, YOU HAVE THE FINAL SAY OVER THE CHOOSING OF ELECTORS, NOT ANY BOARD OF ELECTIONS, SECRETARY OF STATE, GOVERNOR, OR EVEN COURT. YOU HAVE THE FINAL SAY.”

Dozens of other Twitter accounts pushing the hashtag #StopTheSteal were created in October and the first few days of November. The use of freshly created social media accounts to amplify a message is a common feature of disinformation campaigns.

By Wednesday, the hashtag had quickly jumped from the hard-right of the internet to mainstream Republicans. The Philadelphia Republican Party picked up the hashtag in a tweet, tagging Eric Trump, the president’s son, and Mr. Giuliani, and urging them

to “get ready to #StopTheSteal and deliver Pennsylvania” to the president.

Eric Trump went even further. He posted and then quickly deleted a tweet using the hashtag on Thursday and asking, without evidence, why the F.B.I. and the Justice Department were not stepping to stop election fraud. Jeanine F. Pirro, the popular Fox News personality, tweeted a similar thought.

A day earlier, Eric Trump had posted a video purporting to show ballots that had been cast for his father in Virginia Beach, Va., being burned. City officials later said that the ballots were clearly samples and not real. But even before that, the video’s questionable provenance probably should have been a tipoff that it was fake: It came from a Twitter user who goes by the handle @Ninja_StuntZ and is connected to the troll-infested message board 8kun.

Mr. Ninja — or is it Mr. StuntZ? — appears to spend his days selling 8kun-branded coffee. By Thursday morning, his Twitter account had been suspended and the video was no longer available.

The relentless messaging and noise appeared to drive the campaign’s legal strategy. On Thursday morning, with the president’s slim lead in the key state of Pennsylvania growing slimmer, Pam Bondi, the former attorney general of Florida, and Corey Lewandowski, a close political adviser, held a news conference amid dueling protests outside the Philadelphia convention center, the city’s main ballot-processing site.

Lining 12th Street and protected by police barricades were dozens of protesters supporting Black Lives Matter and Democrats’ call to “count every vote.” On the opposite corner along Arch Street were roughly two dozen Trump supporters, chanting back to “count every legal vote.”

Ms. Bondi entered through the back of a barricade and stood in the middle of the Trump supporters, holding up a printed-out court order permitting the Trump campaign poll watchers to get closer to observe the ballot counting.

But her speech was drowned out by protesters across the street, who were armed with a D.J. and a full P.A. system blasting “Party” by Beyoncé. The D.J., counting to 10 repeatedly, in rhythm, was the only audible voice during Ms. Bondi’s remarks. As she continued, he broke into a chant: “Count, Philly, Count.”

WASHINGTON MEMO

Man Who Led G.O.P. Through 2000 Recount Says Finish 2020 Count

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The White House hoped to find a “James Baker-like” figure to lead its postelection battle to somehow find a way to win a second term. But the original James Baker says the White House should stop trying to stop the votes from being counted.

Mr. Baker, the former secretary of state who led the legal and political team during the epic Florida recount battle in 2000 that secured the presidency for George W. Bush, said in an interview on Thursday that President Trump may have legitimate issues to pursue, but they should not be used to justify halting the initial tabulation of ballots.

“We never said don’t count the votes,” said Mr. Baker, a Republican who voted for Mr. Trump. “That’s a very hard decision to defend in a democracy.”

The wrangling since Tuesday has evoked many memories and not a few post-traumatic stress flashbacks from the showdown in Florida that riveted the world. Figures like Mr. Baker, now retired and spending much of his time at his Texas ranch after recovering from the coronavirus, have been evoked as proxies for the current debate. But the comparisons only go so far.

In the 2000 episode, Mr. Bush, the Republican candidate, and Al Gore, the Democrat, did not start their legal fight until after the votes in Florida were already counted. Mr. Bush finished election night with a lead of 1,784 votes out of some six million cast in the state that would ultimately determine which candidate would win the Electoral College. Because the margin was so small, an automatic machine recount was then conducted, upholding Mr. Bush’s lead.

Arguing that some ballots were improperly disqualified or otherwise not counted, Mr. Gore’s team went to court asking for hand recounts in four heavily Democratic counties while Mr. Baker argued that the votes did not need to be counted again. By the time the Supreme Court halted the process more than a month later on the grounds that different counties were applying different standards, Mr. Bush’s lead had been pared to 537, still enough to win.

Mr. Trump, by comparison, has sought to prevent even the first round of counting and to exclude whole batches of mail-in ballots. In a middle-of-the-night appearance after the closing of the polls, the president characterized the routine counting of votes as an effort to steal the election without any evidence at all. “STOP THE COUNT!” he wrote on Twitter on Thursday as his lawyers tried in vain to do just that. While Mr. Bush was trying to preserve his victory, Mr. Trump is trying to overturn what may be his opponent’s.

“There are huge differences,” Mr. Baker said of the Florida battle and the brewing fights over this week’s election. “For one thing, our whole argument was that the votes have been counted and they’ve been counted and they’ve been counted and it’s time to end the process. That’s not exactly the message I heard on election night. And so I think it’s pretty hard to be against counting the votes.”

As an example, he criticized the Republican effort to throw out 127,000 votes in Harris County, which includes his hometown, Houston, because

they were cast through a drive-through system that the party objected to. “I didn’t think that was a particularly wise thing to do and, as it turns out, it wasn’t wise legally because they’ve lost in state court and in federal court,” he said.

That in some ways mirrored one of the side battles in the Florida fight when Democrats asked courts to throw out 25,000 absentee ballots in two other counties because of “irregularities” with the way the ballot applications were handled. Two Florida judges rejected the effort, ruling that any procedural issues by local authorities did not justify preventing voters from having their ballots counted.

One of the lawyers who argued against the Republican effort in Texas this week was Benjamin L. Ginsberg, one of the nation’s most pre-eminent Republican election lawyers and part of Mr. Baker’s recount team in 2000. In a friend of the court brief in federal court, Mr. Ginsberg compared the Texas Republican bid to exclude the drive-through ballots to the fight over the 25,000 ballots in Florida.

In an interview, Mr. Ginsberg said Mr. Trump’s effort to stop the count wholesale was dangerous. “It’s part and parcel of him tearing down the democratic core institution of free elections by saying they’re rigged without providing any real evidence,” he said.

Mr. Ginsberg was part of the all-star Republican legal team that Mr. Baker assembled in Florida on the fly. Among them

Bush was trying to preserve victory; Trump may be trying to overturn defeat.

were three future members of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justices Brett M. Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett, as well as a future senator, Ted Cruz of Texas; a future national security adviser, John R. Bolton; and prominent lawyers like Theodore Olson and Michael Carvin.

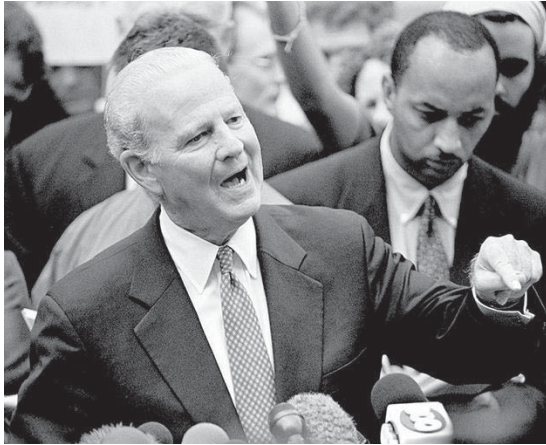
Mr. Trump, for his part, has had little luck attracting anything like that kind of high-level Republican legal firepower this week, relying on Rudolph W. Giuliani, his personal lawyer, and sons Donald Trump Jr. and Eric Trump, among others, to carry his message.

Mr. Baker, who ran five Republican presidential campaigns, has been sharply critical of Mr. Trump at times and refused to publicly endorse him, but still voted for him this fall, citing fears of a “far left” agenda if Democrats led by former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. were to take over.

Mr. Baker said that Mr. Trump has every right to pursue any legitimate challenges after the votes are counted. “You’re entitled to contest or question the results of any election in any state until you’re satisfied that it’s been conducted fairly and openly,” he said. “That’s not failing to accept a peaceful transition of power.”

Mr. Baker agreed that Mr. Trump should find someone like Mr. Baker to serve as a field marshal. “Message discipline,” he said, “is particularly important in something like this.”

But at 90, he is ready for it to be someone else.



STEVE SCHAEFER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

James Baker said a major point of the Republican argument in 2000 was that the votes had already been counted several times.

BALLOT INITIATIVES

Voters in California Show Resistance to Liberal Referendum Measures

From Page A1

nor and lieutenant governor are Democrats. Even the state's chief justice, Tani Cantil-Sakauye, quit the Republican Party two years ago and became an independent.

Pockets of unambiguous liberalism stayed strong on Tuesday, with San Francisco voters saying yes to liberal priorities, including affordable housing, police oversight and new taxes on companies whose highest-paid manager makes more than 100 times the level paid to their local workers.

And on many ballot measures, California voters validated the state's liberal reputation. They rejected an expansion of penalties for some crimes and restored voting rights for felons who are on parole, securing the state's position as a national leader in reducing mass incarceration and overhauling its criminal justice system.

This year's mixed results, however, were not an anomaly. California has always had competing impulses. The state that is home to Nancy Pelosi, the speaker of the House of Representatives, also produced icons of conservatism including Ronald Reagan. Some of the most prominent conservative voices during the Trump presidency hail from California, including Kevin McCarthy, the House minority leader; Devin Nunes, the outspoken congressman and staunch Trump ally; and Stephen Miller, the hard-line anti-immigration White House adviser.

This has put California on the front lines of many political battles. The affirmative action measure on the ballot this year, for example, dated to 1996. That year, 55 percent of the state's electorate voted to ban the use of race, ethnicity, national origin or gender in public hiring, contracting and university admissions.

The proposition that California voted on this time would have repealed the ban and was supported by a who's who of the Democratic Party in the state, including Kamala Harris, the senator and vice-presidential candidate. But it was defeated by almost the same margin with which it had passed originally.

Analysts saw a reflection of the state's demographic complexity in the vote.

"It's always difficult to do proposition campaigns in a state of 40 million people," said Anthony Rendon, a Democrat and the speaker of the California Assembly. "But our racial and ethnic groups are more complicated and divided than they used to be, in a bunch of different ways."

Since 2014, no one racial or ethnic group has constituted a majority of California's population. Thirty-nine percent of California residents are Latino, 37 percent

Thomas Fuller and Conor Dougherty reported from Oakland, Shawn Hubler from Sacramento, and Tim Arango from Los Angeles. Jill Cowan and Miriam Jordan contributed reporting from Los Angeles.



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Watching vote tallies at a San Francisco street party on Tuesday night. "The results in California show the Democrats that you can go too far," one analyst said.

are white, 15 percent are Asian-American, 6 percent are Black and less than 1 percent are Native American or Pacific Islander, according to the 2018 American Community Survey.

Against that backdrop, Mr. Rendon said, affirmative action is difficult to define, with different meanings to different generations, ethnic groups and income brackets. In most of the state's working-class, inland counties, Californians voted to keep it banned. Only wealthier, left-leaning urban areas such as Los Angeles and the Bay Area supported bringing racial and ethnic preferences back into the public sector.

And in statewide polls, Latino voters expressed ambivalence: One survey done shortly before the election showed that only 40 percent of the state's Latinos supported the proposition. Many white and Asian-American Californians opposed the measure, fearing that higher admissions for underrepresented minorities might mean less room for their own children in the University of California system. Some young voters did not even understand the concept, Mr. Rendon said.

That complexity extends to the state's Democratic majority, Mr. Rendon added. "When the left is united in California," he said, "we win." But on issues from bail re-

form to rent control, he said, the party's factions — progressive, moderate, coastal, inland — "were not all on the same page" this election year.

The way voters approached taxes was also nuanced. Local ballot initiatives were set to generate at least \$15 billion in new bond authorizations, according to the California Local Government Finance Almanac. But the biggest tax question of the election — whether to raise property taxes on corporations and other large landowners — looked headed for defeat.

For all their liberal leanings on issues like the environment, California voters have long been less welcoming to new taxes than their reputation would suggest. For 40 years the pillar of local finance has been Proposition 13, the 1978 measure that limited local property taxes and has been considered politically untouchable ever since.

Expecting a Democratic wave, a coalition of public employees' unions and progressive groups targeted 2020 as a moment to peel back part of the law. Their measure, Proposition 15, would have removed the Proposition 13 tax limits on commercial properties like office buildings and industrial parks, continuing to shield homeowners while raising an estimated

\$6.5 billion to \$11.5 billion a year for public schools and local governments. The measure was trailing on Thursday, suggesting that, even if it wins, close to half of voters remain fiercely protective of Proposition 13.

California is unique in its reliance on direct democracy to decide some of the most crucial issues of the day. Ballots bulge with so many initiatives they might be better described as booklets. And it is not just ideology or the zeitgeist that can determine the outcome. Corporate interests, wealthy donors and advocacy organizations spend what amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars on initiatives every election.

The proposition that repealed the labor protections for ride-share and delivery drivers saw more than \$200 million in campaign spending, breaking national records for a ballot initiative.

More than \$100 million was also spent on another hot-button measure, rent control. Polls showed that the housing crisis was the No. 1 concern for state voters, and Gov. Gavin Newsom dedicated the bulk of his State of the State speech to California's worst-in-the-nation homelessness problem. And yet voters up and down the state resoundingly rejected efforts to expand tenants' rights and rent control.

The most prominent example was the failure of Proposition 21, a ballot initiative that would have given local governments more leeway to cap rental rates but was decisively defeated, according to The Associated Press. That represented the second time in two years that California voters had rejected rent control by wide margins, and for the most part local attempts have not fared any better: On Tuesday, voters in Sacramento and Burbank also rejected rent control proposals.

"I keep thinking of this house I saw in a pretty affluent neighborhood that had a 'Biden Harris' sign and 'No on 21' sign," said Tony Roshan Samara, program director of land use and housing at Urban Habitat, a Bay Area policy and advocacy organization. "That captures it. People will vote Democratic, but when it comes to these issues of land and property, they vote in the interest of landowners."

Californians are sometimes described as moderate on fiscal matters but liberal on social ones. That seemed mainly consistent with the passage of a number of criminal justice measures, perhaps most importantly the rejection of an initiative that would have made it harder for people convicted of certain felonies to be considered for early release from

prison.

Former Gov. Jerry Brown called the vote a "decisive repudiation" of punitive sentences and a "milestone" in California's evolution from the 1980s and 1990s, when the state, amid crime waves and the crack epidemic, led the way on mass incarceration.

"There's a lot of work to be done in this field, but California is showing the way in a very positive and I think creative way," he said.

Mr. Brown spent \$1 million left over from his campaign funds to defeat the measure, which was supported by police unions and get-tough-on-crime politicians and would have reimposed restrictions on early releases and toughen sentences for certain crimes.

What do voters think about voting for Democrats and at the same time not supporting Democratic-led initiatives? José Legaspi, a Los Angeles resident who runs shopping centers in Latino communities across the country, said he hardly saw a contradiction. He voted for Mr. Biden and did not think twice about opposing the measure to raise taxes on commercial properties.

"I truly believe in paying taxes," he said. "However, there is a point at which one should limit how much more in taxes one should personally pay."

'SOMETHING WENT WRONG'

House Democrats Dissect Setbacks, and One Another

By LUKE BROADWATER and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Democrats wept, cursed and traded blame on Thursday during an extraordinary party confab to dissect the disappointing results of this week's elections, agreeing on little except that they needed a "deep dive" into how they had ended up with losses that weakened their House majority instead of the big gains they had boldly predicted.

In a caucus meeting held by telephone that was their first group conversation since Election Day, Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Representative Cheri Bustos of Illinois, who led the party's campaign arm, defended their efforts. Democrats expressed frustration over the loss of eight of their members — and a net loss of six seats, with 36 races still undecided — that had left them with a slimmer margin of control.

Party leaders noted that Democrats appeared on track to hold the House, thanks to hard-fought victories by incumbents in competitive districts, and that former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. appeared headed toward a victory, according to seven people on the call who requested anonymity to divulge a conversation that was intended to be private.

"We did not win every battle, but we did win the war," Ms. Pelosi said.

But during the call, which lasted three hours and previewed divisions among Democrats over how to wield their power and define

their message, Ms. Bustos conceded that things had gone badly awry. She said she was "gutted" and "heartbroken" by the losses.

"Something went wrong," Ms. Bustos said, blaming incorrect modeling of the electorate in polling, and promising a "deep dive" on the matter. "They all pointed to one political environment, but voters who turned out looked a lot like 2016."

"We protected the lone firewall in our democracy," she added. "Now hopefully and probably with Joe Biden to take back the White House, we are now in a position to put our priorities into action because we held on to this fragile majority."

It was a bitter pill for Democrats who had been ebullient only days before about their chances. On Election Day, Ms. Pelosi and Ms. Bustos crowed about their likelihood of success. Ms. Pelosi cited predictions that the party could pick up five, 10 or even 20 seats and said she was worried about "fewer than a handful of incumbents." Both women, though, declined to offer their own precise predictions.

But by Thursday, one of the incumbents they had not been worried about, Representative Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, who was defeated Tuesday night as President Trump won a resounding victory in her Miami-area district, broke into tears as she spoke out to her soon-to-be former colleagues about divisions within the party.

"We have a divided America," Ms. Mucarsel-Powell said during



ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Representative Cheri Bustos, on video, have defended their efforts.

the call. "Continue to fight for kids or what you believe in, but if you have a problem, pick up the phone — don't tweet it out."

Representative Abigail Spanberger, who narrowly escaped defeat on Wednesday in a conservative-leaning district in Virginia that Democrats had also believed secure, chastised her progressive colleagues for embracing the "defund the police" movement and for not forcefully rebuffing accusations of socialism. If Democrats did not acknowledge the election results as a "failure" and change strategies, she said, using an expletive for emphasis, they would be "crushed" in future elections.

To that, Ms. Pelosi objected. "I disagree, Abigail, that it was a fail-

ure," she said. "We won the House."

Ms. Bustos, who won re-election only narrowly, emphasized the success of the so-called front liners, about 40 mostly freshman Democrats including Ms. Spanberger, who hold seats in traditionally conservative districts. While some lost this week, most were poised for victory.

"These were seats that were in Trump country, and we were able to hold onto 30 seats that are Trump districts, and that's no small feat," she said.

Ms. Bustos also defended the Democrats' offensive push deeper into Republican territory, a move that yielded few pickups and some members said left incumbents in-

adequately protected.

Losses for Democrats included freshmen in swing districts — like Representatives Joe Cunningham of South Carolina, Xochitl Torres Small of New Mexico, Kendra Horn of Oklahoma and Abby Finkenauer of Iowa — but also a veteran, Representative Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota, who leads the Agriculture Committee and has served in the House for three decades.

One of the biggest surprises of the election came in South Florida, where Mr. Trump made significant inroads among Cuban-Americans. Along with Ms. Mucarsel-Powell, Representative Donna E. Shalala, another first-term Democrat representing the

Cursing and tears after hopes of big gains are dashed.

Miami area, lost.

Representative James E. Clyburn of South Carolina, the third-ranking Democrat, said the party needed to overcome racial animus in the electorate, and had to shy away from certain far-left policies that alienate key segments of voters if Democrats wanted to win a pair of Senate seats currently in play in Georgia.

"Those two seats offer us the opportunity to change the dynamics in the Senate, but we are going to have to win those seats to do it," he said. He cautioned against running on "Medicare for all or defunding police or socialized medicine," adding that if Democrats pursued such policies, "we're not going to win."

Representative Marc Veasey of Texas warned his fellow members against antifracking talk, saying it voters in South Texas: "They hear, 'Take away jobs.'"

But some progressives urged against turning away from liberal policies they argued had galvanized the party's core supporters.

Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, a leader of the Progressive Caucus, said the "turnout of our progressive base" would be the crucial factor in electing Mr. Biden.

"This is a huge win," she said. "We didn't get the repudiation of Trump we wanted, but we turned out huge numbers of young people, brown and Black people. Don't be so quick to blame the members who have been responsible for energizing these groups, who will ultimately save the day in the race for the White House."

2020 Election

FLORIDA

Hardly a Swing State When Democrats Lose Worse Than Last Time

By **NICHOLAS CASEY**
and **PATRICIA MAZZEI**

LARGO, Fla. — Cliff Gephart, the co-owner of a Trump-themed coffee shop called Conservative Grounds, looked across the guns mounted on the wall, the cappuccinos in paper cups and the replica of the Oval Office he built against the back of the cafe, complete with a reproduction of the Resolute Desk. It was Tuesday, and Mr. Gephart, 50, was in a good mood.

“Let me ask you a question,” he shouted to a dozen or so patrons. “After the election, win, lose or draw, are you still coming here?”

“Yes!” the crowd shouted back. It was not just inside the coffee shop: The state of Florida is feeling Trumpy.

Nationally, the presidential race is still too close to call. But President Trump has at least won his adopted home state again, and not by one of those nail-biting margins so typical of Florida. This year, the president secured what was effectively a landslide here,

Demoralizing defeats in 2016, in 2018 and on this past Tuesday.

winning by more than three percentage points, over twice his margin in 2016.

After a series of demoralizing defeats — the presidential race in 2016, contests for the Senate and governor in 2018 and now another presidential vote — Democrats are reckoning with a dispiriting question: Will Florida ever go blue again?

“It’s really hard to argue Florida is a true swing state,” said Matthew C. Isbell, a Democratic data strategist in South Florida. “It’s not Missouri. It’s not Ohio, where Trump won by eight points. It’s just more modestly Republican — kind of like North Carolina, but even a little further to the right.”

Even Georgia, as it turns out, is more of a battleground.

Mr. Trump drove up his score in Miami-Dade County, shocking Democrats with his gains among conservative-leaning Cuban-Americans, who voted in such big numbers that the G.O.P. captured two Democratic-leaning congressional seats and a slew of state legislative districts.

“We’re not leftists, as Cubans,” said Gloria Davis, 59, a Republican who voted for Mr. Trump in Miami. “I see the leftists in the Democrat Party. He has what it takes to be president, and he’s a strong man. You can’t be weak in this nation.”

More concerning for Democrats, however, was that Mr. Trump also did better than four years ago across the state with non-Cuban Hispanic voters, who tend to lean more liberal. Exit polls conducted for the National

Nicholas Casey reported from Largo and Patricia Mazzei from Miami.

Election Poll showed Joseph R. Biden Jr. falling short of 60 percent statewide with Hispanic voters, down from the two-thirds captured by Hillary Clinton in 2016.

Luis Ruiz, 60, who is Colombian-American and registered without party affiliation, said he voted for Mr. Trump despite his disappointment in the president’s leadership during the pandemic. Mr. Ruiz, a resident of Miami, said Mr. Trump’s policy toward Latin America probably keeps left-wing governments in the region in check. “Trump’s policy, in some way, benefits our countries,” Mr. Ruiz said.

As the results came in on Tuesday, vocal Democrats such as State Representative Anna V. Eskamani of Orlando, who is a member of her party’s more progressive wing, demanded a top-to-bottom rethinking of Democrats’ approach to political campaigns. “There was a bloodbath in South Florida,” Ms. Eskamani said.

On Thursday, Terrie Rizzo, the chairwoman of the Florida Democratic Party, promised a “deep dive” into what had gone wrong.

Mr. Biden bested Mr. Trump in Miami-Dade County, but by a margin of only seven percentage points, performing worse than any Democratic presidential candidate since John Kerry in 2004. In 2016, Mrs. Clinton won Miami-Dade by nearly 30 points.

Mr. Biden improved on Mrs. Clinton’s performance in other places, including Duval County, home to Jacksonville; Seminole County, near Orlando; and Pinellas County, home to Largo, all of which flipped from Republican to Democratic. But those were modest gains at best, with Mr. Trump building on his lead even outside of vote-rich Miami-Dade.

Democrats had thought their chances had improved with Mr. Biden as their nominee. After all, he had been on the ticket with former President Barack Obama when he twice won Florida. But that was before the coronavirus pandemic froze Democrats’ efforts to register voters, campaign in person or lure Mr. Biden and his top surrogates to visit.

At the same time, Florida Republicans continued to do as they always do: register voters, knock on their doors and get their people to the polls. Mr. Trump also flew in frequently for rallies, including a boisterous event at midnight on Sunday near Miami that resembled a huge block party.

“Our data suggested that close to half of Trump voters that were going to vote were going to vote on Election Day,” said Ryan D. Tyson, a Republican pollster in Tallahassee whose surveys hewed closely to the final results in 2016, 2018 and this year. On Tuesday, “my math said that we had won the election at 11 a.m.,” he said. “Everything else was gravy.”

Florida Democrats require more infrequent voters, including immigrants and Black and Hispanic Americans, to turn out in big numbers to do well, which is far more difficult than the Republican game plan of depending on reliable, “high-propensity” voters. The Republican Party is also typically better funded, which is crucial in an expensive state with 10



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

television markets.

This year, not even a \$100 million investment from Michael R. Bloomberg, the former New York mayor, was enough to win the state. The effort began too late, according to several Democrats involved. By then, the Biden campaign and the party had failed to heed warnings about Mr. Biden’s troubles with Hispanics, hire specialized staff or bring on prominent figures to introduce Mr. Bi-

den to the Latino community.

Democrats need a better, locally tailored message, several Democrats said. An amendment to the state Constitution raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour passed on Tuesday with 61 percent of the vote, but the party did not campaign on it, said John Morgan, the Orlando lawyer and political donor who financed the ballot measure.

“If you’re a Democrat in Amer-



SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nora Cazulo outside her home in Miami, a vote-rich area for Mr. Trump. His resounding victory in his adopted home state has Democrats once again worrying about their future electoral prospects.

ica and you’re on the fence about a living wage, then you need to move to the other party,” said Mr. Morgan, who is registered without party affiliation but contributed heavily to Mr. Biden. “The Florida Democratic Party is a joke.”

The Trump campaign in Florida essentially never ended after 2016, with the president traveling to the state throughout his term and shaping his Latin America policy with an obvious eye at winning votes in the Miami area.

But some Republicans cautioned that Florida’s changing demographics made it hard to count it as a reliable red state.

“We are making some inroads, but to say this is becoming less of a swing state is very hard when you have such fluidity in the people voting,” said Mark Gotz, the Republican Party chairman in St. Lucie County. “We love them to come down here and bring their money, but we would like to let them leave their voting habits where they

came from.”

In Largo, Mr. Gephart, the coffee shop owner, has taken his calling to the Trump campaign with the gusto of a political evangelist.

He was an early supporter, attending one of Mr. Trump’s first rallies in Sarasota, where he was impressed by a diverse line that stretched on for blocks and by Mr. Trump’s dramatic arrival by helicopter.

Mr. Gephart organized what he called the “Mother of All Boat Parades” in the president’s honor this summer and is now trying to get it listed in the Guinness Book of World Records. He is even seeking to erect a bronze statue of Mr. Trump in the Golan Heights, a disputed territory controlled by Israel.

But it is Mr. Gephart’s coffee shop in Largo, west of Tampa, that encapsulates his vision of Florida: A space where wearing a MAGA hat, raising skepticism about a mask mandate or admiring the president is not an aberration but normal.

“We’ve heard stories of hats being taken off people’s heads, or drinks thrown in their faces,” he said. “That won’t happen here.”

The crowd in the cafe the day after the election sat glued to their phones watching for updates in Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, expressing certainty that the president would prevail in them all. (By Thursday, Michigan and Wisconsin had been called for Mr. Biden.)

Dea Kothaus, a recent transplant from Southern California, said Florida’s conservatives had allowed her to find the kind of like-minded neighbors that she didn’t have in the liberal cities where she previously lived.

After arriving six months ago, she began volunteering with conservative activists and spent the 15 days before the election waving flags as part of a group called Penny’s Trump Train. She stayed up well past 2 a.m. to watch Mr. Trump’s speech on election night.

“I didn’t get what MAGA was initially,” she said. “But now I get it.”

NEW YORK POLITICS

The Democratic Finger-Pointing Begins, From Albany to the City to Long Island

This article is by **Jesse McKinley**, **Dana Rubinstein** and **Emma G. FitzSimmons**.

ALBANY, N.Y. — With Democrats facing the loss of at least one congressional seat in New York and several state senators imperiled on Long Island, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, the state’s top Democrat, found a familiar scapegoat: Mayor Bill de Blasio.

“They ran de Blasio’s picture all over the state,” the governor said in an interview on Thursday, noting that the city was depicted as a place of “looting and crime and homelessness.”

“That was their message, and it resonated more than it should have,” he said on WAMC radio, adding, “It shouldn’t have been this close.”

Mr. Cuomo, like many Democratic leaders in New York, cautioned that many thousands of absentee ballots were still to be counted, and he scolded Republicans for prematurely claiming victory in several close races.

But the governor’s comments offered a first glimpse at potential strains among New York Democrats as their senior leaders wrestle with anxiety over the results of Tuesday’s election. Some officials, like Mr. Cuomo, are already at the

finger-pointing stage.

The mayor has certainly become a reliably powerful tool for Republican candidates looking for moderate suburban and rural votes. This election cycle they invoked Mr. de Blasio to suggest that Democrats were weak on crime and fond of high taxes. As such they echoed national attacks from Republicans on figures like Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a fellow Democrat and progressive from the city.

“They used Bill de Blasio and A.O.C. as their villains,” said Jay Jacobs, the chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee and a close ally of Mr. Cuomo’s. He added that voters saw images like “major stores on Fifth Avenue being boarded up” the day before Election Day. “It created unease and fed the Republican law-and-order narrative.”

The mayor was not the only Republican target; candidates also attacked the governor, as well as Democratic legislative leaders.

Mr. de Blasio, when told of the governor’s comments, brushed them off and played down the Republicans’ successes. “I think whatever the Republicans did was pretty modest, honestly,” he said.

The Republican Party did seem

poised to unseat Representative Max Rose, a first-term Democrat in the 11th Congressional District, which includes Staten Island and parts of South Brooklyn — a race in which both candidates heavily criticized the mayor.

In that race, Mr. Rose called Mr. de Blasio “the worst mayor in the history of New York City” and stridently denied, in the closing days of the campaign, that Mr. de Blasio had endorsed him. (The mayor said that he had not issued a formal endorsement, but that he normally supported Democrats.)

Mr. Rose seemed to be in deep trouble against his Republican challenger, Nicole Malliotakis, a state assemblywoman who allied herself closely with the president.

In Albany, the Democratic leaders of the State Senate had been dreaming of attaining a veto-proof supermajority, something that would have given them additional leverage in their often tense negotiations with Mr. Cuomo, a fiscal centrist who has rebuffed liberal ideas like higher taxes on the rich and universal health care.

But several Democratic incumbents on Long Island seemed to be at risk of losing their seats after machine counts of ballots, including State Senators Monica Martinez and James F. Gaughran, both

of whom trailed Republicans by approximately 14,000 votes; another, Senator Kevin M. Thomas, was facing a slightly slimmer deficit, down by 8,000 votes.

Statistics from Suffolk County show there is very little wiggle

Cuomo says de Blasio became the G.O.P.’s most effective asset.

room for Ms. Martinez, who is running against Alexis Weik, a Republican: There were about 23,000 mail-in ballots received in Suffolk as of Wednesday morning, with nearly 11,000 coming from Democrats.

In Mr. Gaughran’s district, which includes parts of Suffolk and Nassau, some 36,000 absentee ballots have been received — about half from registered Democrats — though the number in Nassau was unclear.

Still, Democratic strategists insisted that absentee ballots — which won’t be counted on Long Island or New York City until next week — could very well be enough

to salvage their candidates.

“Everybody gets that the longer the votes are counted, the votes that are out there are Democratic,” said Evan Stavisky, a political consultant whose firm is involved in State Senate races. “If we understand that to be true in Pennsylvania, it’s cognitive dissonance that we don’t understand that to be true in New York.”

All three vulnerable Democrats had been hammered by Republicans on the issue of bail reform and other criminal justice reforms passed in 2019. Those messages were amplified by \$4.5 million in indirect spending from Ronald S. Lauder, the billionaire cosmetics heir, who funded a political action committee that ran ads opposing candidates in nearly a dozen State Senate races. Those digital and television ads made no mention of Mr. de Blasio, but focused on bail reform, creating ads featuring loaded guns and wailing sirens.

Mr. Cuomo, for one, thought the campaign was effective. “They branded Democrats as anti-law and order,” he said, adding that while he thought it was untrue, it “hurt Democrats.”

For fellow Democrats in the city, the emphasis on the mayor — and the supposed hellscapes he presides over — is nothing new.

“The Republicans did that two years ago as well, maybe even four years ago,” said State Senator Liz Krueger, a Democrat from the east side of Manhattan. “That doesn’t mean it’s de Blasio’s fault. That means the Republicans like to use him as their bogeyman.”

Ms. Krueger noted that Mr. Cuomo’s policy decisions had become targets of many Republican candidates: Bail reform, after all, was a state law, signed by Mr. Cuomo, not Mr. de Blasio.

In one case, Mr. Cuomo and Mr. de Blasio were used together as campaign fodder in a mailing to upstate New York voters, featuring their grinning faces — alongside the Senate majority leader, Andrea Stewart-Cousins — and accusing the three of being “N.Y.C. liberals” devoted to higher taxes. “More money for them,” the flyer read. “Less money for us.”

For his part, the mayor seemed somewhat sanguine about his role as bad guy in other people’s campaigns, joking on Thursday that he might consider using his reputation to help Democrats in a different way.

“I think what I’ll do going forward is just make sure I strongly endorse the Republican candidates,” he said. “And confuse matters.”

THROUGH THE YEARS

WE’VE BEEN HERE BEFORE

It may seem like a painfully drawn out election is just another sore point in a year unlike any other. But close and contested presidential elections have long been a part of our history — think of the beaming face of Harry S. Truman or the hanging chads of 2000. Here’s how The Times reported on some of them. Observations in *italics* are from the presidential historian Michael Beschloss.



ELECTORAL VOTES Hayes 185 (50.1%) Tilden 184 (47.9) **POPULAR VOTE** Tilden 4,300,590 (51%) Hayes 4,034,142 (47.9)

1876

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

The dispatches received since our last issue confirm the reports on which THE TIMES yesterday claimed 181 electoral votes for Gov. HAYES. On Wednesday the following States were put down as surely Republican: Colorado, California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, Nebraska, New-Hampshire, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Some of these States were claimed by the Democrats, but all intelligence, thus far received, not only shows that the above estimate was correct, but that Florida, which was left in doubt, has gone Republican by at least 1,500 majority—our latest dispatches say 2,000— and that the two Republican Congressmen are also elected.

Gov. Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a Democrat, won the popular vote, but 20 electoral votes — in Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana and Oregon — were contested. Under the last-minute Compromise of 1877, the Democrats let Mr. Hayes become president, by a margin of a single electoral vote, as long as he removed federal forces from the South and ended Reconstruction.



ELECTORAL VOTES Wilson 277 (52.2%) Hughes 254 (47.8) **POPULAR VOTE** Wilson 9,126,868 (51%) Hughes 8,538,221 (46.1)

1916

WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson and Thomas R. Marshall have been again elected President and Vice President. Soon after 11 o'clock last night all the doubtful States, except New Hampshire and Minnesota, had given Wilson such a steady lead that his election was no longer in doubt. When, at 11:25, the news came that Chester H. Rowell, the Republican State Chairman in California, had conceded the State to the Democrats, the disputed election of the 1916 was no longer in dispute.

Wilson's indicated vote in the Electoral College is 272, that of Hughes being 250. With 272 votes in sight, President Wilson has six to spare for a possible split of Electors in California, or a sudden reversal in New Mexico.

In the absence of another Republican split, Mr. Wilson's electoral vote shrank and he almost lost to Charles Evans Hughes, the former governor of New York and Supreme Court justice. The close election came down to California, where women had the right to vote. Surveys showed that they opted for Mr. Wilson, who had campaigned under the motto "He Kept Us Out of War," which proved ironic when the newly sworn president led the nation into the European struggle five months later.



ELECTORAL VOTES Truman 303 (57.1%) Dewey 189 (35.6) **POPULAR VOTE** Truman 24,179,347 (49.6%); Dewey 21,969,170 (45)

1948

HARRY S. TRUMAN

The State of Ohio, “mother of Republican Presidents,” furnished the electoral bloc early yesterday forenoon which assured to President Harry S. Truman a four-year term in his own right as Chief Executive of the United States. Until this late accounting of votes cast in Tuesday’s general election put Ohio firmly in Mr. Truman’s column, after it had fluctuated throughout the night, he was certain of but 254 electoral votes, which were twelve less than the 266 required.

The historic role played by Ohio was only one of the dramatic and extraordinary phases of the election of 1948.

ARTHUR KROCK

Widely viewed at the time as a bland accidental president too small for his job, Mr. Truman won his enduring claim on Americans’ imaginations with his cheerful, fighting comeback, smilingly holding up a mistaken headline (“Dewey Defeats Truman”) afterward. To this day, Truman’s doughtiness is the model for all candidates who find themselves running behind.



ELECTORAL VOTES Kennedy 303 (56.4%) Nixon 219 (40.8) **POPULAR VOTE** Kennedy 34,220,984 (49.7%) Nixon 34,107,646 (49.5)

1960

JOHN F. KENNEDY

Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts finally won the 1960 Presidential election from Vice President Nixon by the astonishing margin of less than two votes per voting precinct.

Senator Kennedy’s electoral vote total stood yesterday at 300, just thirty-one more than the 269 needed for election. The Vice President’s total was 185. Fifty-two additional electoral votes, including California’s thirty-two, were still in doubt last night.

But the popular vote was a different story. The two candidates ran virtually even. Senator Kennedy’s lead last night was little more than 300,000 in a total tabulated vote of about 66,000,000 cast in 165,826 precincts.

JAMES RESTON

Mr. Kennedy’s popular vote margin shrank to about 100,000 votes, and he won 303 electoral votes. Mr. Nixon and other Republicans pondered demanding recounts, especially in Texas and Illinois. The vice president dropped the idea; however, he told a friend that December, “We won, but they stole it from us.”



ELECTORAL VOTES Nixon 301 (56%) Humphrey 191 (35.5) **POPULAR VOTE** Nixon 31,783,783 (43.4%) Humphrey 30,898,055 (42.7)

1968

RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON

Richard Milhous Nixon emerged the victor yesterday in one of the closest and most tumultuous Presidential campaigns in history and set himself the task of reuniting the nation.

Elect ed over Hubert H. Humphrey by the barest of margins — only four one-hundredths of a percentage point in the popular vote — and confronted by a Congress in control of the Democrats, the President-elect said it “will be the great objective of this Administration at the outset to bring the American people together.”

He pledged, as the 37th President, to form “an open Administration, open to new ideas, open to men and women of both parties, open to critics as well as those who support us” so as to bridge the gap between the generations and the races.

MAX FRANKEL

Mr. Humphrey had nearly prevailed with the aid of President Lyndon Baines Johnson’s Halloween declaration that he would halt bombing in Vietnam to start peace talks, but America’s South Vietnamese allies had refused to attend. Privately, Mr. Johnson was irate when he discovered that Nixon’s entourage was secretly enticing Saigon to boycott the talks; he threatened to publicly reveal this “treason” and try to destroy Mr. Nixon’s election chances, but finally held his fire.



ELECTORAL VOTES Carter 297 (55.2%) Ford 240 (44.6) **POPULAR VOTE** Carter 40,831,881 (50.1%) Ford 39,147,770 (48)

1976

JIMMY CARTER

Jimmy Carter won the nation’s Bicentennial Presidential election yesterday, narrowly defeating President Ford by sweeping his native South and adding enough Northern industrial states to give him a bare electoral vote majority.

Three of the closely contested battleground states slipped into Mr. Carter’s column shortly after midnight—New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. The President-designate lost New Jersey and Michigan, Mr. Ford’s home state, while Ohio, Illinois and California were still up for grabs.

New York teetered between the rivals for hours, contrary to all expectations, before delivering a small majority to Mr. Carter — a majority that gave the Democrat a bonanza of 41 electoral votes.

R. W. APPLE JR.

Mr. Ford probably kicked away his chances in this tight election with a single gaffe. While debating with Mr. Carter, clumsily trying to suggest America’s unwillingness to accept Soviet power in Eastern Europe, he had insisted that there was “no Soviet domination” there, convincing many Americans that, even compared to the neophyte Carter, their president did not know as much as he should about national security.



ELECTORAL VOTES Bush 271 (50.4%) Gore 266 (49.4) **POPULAR VOTE** Gore 50,999,897 (48.4%) Bush 50,460,110 (47.9)

2000

TOO CLOSE TO CALL

For the first time in more than a century, the winner of a presidential election remained unknown a full day after the polls closed, as Gov. George W. Bush of Texas and Vice President Al Gore dispatched teams of lawyers to Florida yesterday to wrangle over the handful of votes upon which their White House dreams now rest.

The fate of the two rivals appeared to ride on the verdict in Florida, where an incomplete vote count had Mr. Bush leading Mr. Gore by 1,784 votes, an extraordinarily narrow margin in a nationwide race in which more than 96 million people voted. His lead in Florida was three one-hundredths of 1 percent of the votes cast.

RICHARD L. BERKE

The spectacle of an election decided by the Supreme Court could have been avoided. According to some polls, Mr. Bush might have won outright but for the revelation, the week before the election, of a 1976 drunk-driving arrest. And Mr. Gore might have done so but for his inconsistent debate performances and public ambivalence about the legacy of President Bill Clinton, whose poll ratings had rebounded after his impeachment and acquittal, and who was still presiding over a thriving economy.



ELECTORAL VOTES Bush 271 (50.4%) Gore 266 (49.4) **POPULAR VOTE** Gore 50,999,897 (48.4%) Bush 50,460,110 (47.9)

2000

GEORGE WALKER BUSH

Exactly five weeks after one of the most unsettled presidential elections in American history, George Walker Bush appeared tonight to have swept away any lingering legal obstacles, gaining the right, at long last, to consider himself president-elect.

While the campaigns of Mr. Bush and Vice President Al Gore were still reading and digesting the Supreme Court’s tangled and elaborate ruling as midnight approached, officials in both camps said it was now virtually impossible for Mr. Gore to reach the White House.

The post-election tumult overshadowed a spectacular political rise for Mr. Bush only eight years after his father was turned out of the White House.

RICHARD L. BERKE

Americans may well argue until the end of time about which presidential candidate those Floridians who cast ballots in 2000 really intended to vote for. The outcome was affected by confusing “butterfly ballots” and other peculiarities, Florida’s election law and judicial process, and the inner workings of the highest court in the land. Predictions that Mr. Bush might have difficulty asserting full presidential authority after the narrow Supreme Court verdict proved to be premature, especially after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trump supporters clashed with a Black Lives Matter protester in Detroit.



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A rally calling for all votes to be counted in Lansing, Mich., on Wednesday



GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A “Stop the Steal” rally at the Pennsylvania State Capitol in Harrisburg was one of many demonstrations held nationwide on Thursday contesting the process of determining the next president.

YEAR OF PROTESTS

Demonstrators Demand: ‘Count Every Vote!’ and ‘Stop the Steal!’

This article is by **Simon Romero**, **Shaila Dewan** and **Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio**.

PHOENIX — In downtown Portland, they shouted, “Count every vote!” At the Detroit convention center, they urged those tallying ballots to stop. And outside a Philadelphia vote-counting site, they said they just wanted to watch.

In a year defined by protests — for women’s rights and Black lives, against coronavirus lockdowns and police brutality — the presidential election brought even more demonstrators to the streets across America this week as days passed without a clear winner.

As Joseph R. Biden Jr. appeared to gain ground over President Trump in the race to reach 270 electoral votes, protests broke out in hotly contested areas including Detroit, Philadelphia, Atlanta and Phoenix, where demonstrators said they were convinced the election was being stolen — a baseless claim that has circulated fiercely on social media, including on the Twitter feed of President Trump.

Protests also took place in areas where the results were settled, like New York, Portland, Washington and Miami, where the organizers — Latino Republican groups — offered a warning on a Facebook page called Stop the Steal: “They’re trying to steal this election from the President Donald J. Trump and we’re not going to let it happen.”

While sometimes tense — in Clark County, which includes Las Vegas, the registrar said he had requested extra security at the election headquarters — the protests attracted a modest turnout

Simon Romero reported from Phoenix, Shaila Dewan from New York and Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio from Detroit. Contributing reporting were Dave Philipps from Las Vegas, Jannat Batra from Atlanta, Neil MacFarquhar and Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs from New York, and Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Hailey Fuchs and Pranshu Verma from Washington.

and by Thursday evening had led to no violent episodes.

But the effort may be just ramping up: The Stop the Steal Facebook page, a public group started by Trump supporters, mushroomed to more than 360,000 members within hours, before it was shut down by Facebook. It had been teeming with conspiracy theories and demands to halt the vote-counting process.

Mr. Trump has long been laying the groundwork for doubts about the election results, saying without evidence that mail-in ballots were fraudulent and the election would be rigged. Several protesters spoke of “illegal votes” and said they simply didn’t believe that Mr. Biden could have won in their state.

Republicans have complained that observers have been kept too far from counters to inspect ballots and ensure accuracy. In Philadelphia, Trump surrogates won a minor victory when a state appellate court ordered that observers be allowed to watch from six feet away instead of the previous 20 feet at the main Philadelphia canvassing area. Counterprotesters outside danced and wore shirts that said “Count Every Vote.”

In Atlanta, some 60 people gathered downtown with signs that read “No cheating” and “Four more years.” Drivers in cars passing by held their horns down in support and waved flags out of their windows.

“We want every legal vote to be counted,” said Chandler Crump, 16, a high school student from Atlanta. “I feel amazing being here. There’s a lot of patriotic proud American energy here.”

Simone Michaud, a stay-at-home mother from Marietta, an Atlanta suburb, said she was there to “represent women of color and females in general,” adding, “we have one of the best presidents.”

In Phoenix, about 50 protesters hoisted Trump signs and chanted “Stop the steal” outside City Hall. Several in the crowd were openly carrying rifles and handguns as police officers looked on.

“I’m here to tell the left there’s no way in hell they’re taking my guns,” said Josh Dawl, 35, who had both a .22 caliber rifle and a Winchester Model 1894 rifle. “Trump supports our constitutional rights. Biden does not.”

The protest in Phoenix on Thursday came as election officials scrambled to finish counting ballots. It followed a demonstration Wednesday night that was convened by Mike Cernovich, a far-right blogger and YouTube personality. At that protest, armed right-wing demonstrators repeatedly threatened journalists, to the point where sheriff’s deputies moved television crews inside the Maricopa County Elections Center.

On Thursday, Dale Williams, 70, a retired real estate broker, said he showed up to voice opposition to what he described as a Democratic attempt to steal the election, a claim that is not supported by facts.

“I absolutely believe Donald Trump won Arizona and won the country,” said Mr. Williams, who was carrying a concealed handgun that he brandished to a reporter. “We cannot let Democrats get away with fraud.”

Outside the convention center in Detroit, where absentee ballots were being counted, a lone Black

Lives Matter protester took a knee in the street, blocking an S.U.V. that was decked out in Trump flags and towing a human-sized Statue of Liberty, with a sign that said, “Build the wall.”

The kneeler, Angelo Austin, who wore a mask that said “Detroit,” exchanged heated words with the demonstrators and blocked the S.U.V. until the police asked him to move.

“We’re still fighting to breathe,” he said, yelling at the group while some Trump supporters called him racist and raised their voices, telling him: “It’s not about race.”

Mr. Austin, who is Black, scoffed. “My grandparents helped build this city,” he said, adding that most of the people who showed up to contest the votes were from outside of Detroit.

Many at the rally said that as they watched the votes come in from Detroit on Wednesday — helping flip the state of Michigan to Biden — they increasingly thought election fraud had been committed.

“The MAGA army is not going to let our vote, democracy, be stolen,” said Mark Conway, 61, who had driven from Macomb County on Wednesday after hearing on the radio that Republican poll watchers were needed.

He stayed at the center for sev-

eral hours before leaving and re-turning with his son, only to be told that he could not re-enter. “They said that because of Covid, the capacity was reached,” he said.

Entry was “temporarily frozen” with more than 550 election challengers, half of them Republicans, already inside the center, a city official said.

Mr. Conway remained outside until about 9 p.m. Wednesday. After dark, the challengers demanded that the poll workers stop counting the votes, and sporadic chants of “Let us in” broke out.

Mr. Conway returned Thursday morning to continue to support Mr. Trump. “We want every legal vote counted, and I believe that he got more legal votes than anybody has ever gotten,” Mr. Conway said, adding that the shift in Mr. Biden’s favor overnight, as more votes were counted, wasn’t “credible.”

“The polls were fake, the news was fake, the votes are fake, and the candidate is fake,” he said.

Becky De Nooy came to the rally from Grand Rapids with her daughter, Emma, and said she, too, was distrustful of what she viewed as a surge of ballots suddenly showing up for Democrats.

“That should be suggesting that there’s something amiss,” Ms. De Nooy, 49, said. Her daughter added: “Not having a fair election, we cease to be a democratic republic.”

Across the country, there were also people who took to the streets out of alarm for Mr. Trump’s claim of victory before the votes had been counted.

In Washington, there were newly installed cement vehicle barriers at the Black Lives Matter plaza near the White House, signaling that the city was preparing for larger crowds in an area where demonstrators have been watching results trickle in on a large screen.

A brief standoff broke out on Thursday afternoon outside of the Republican National Committee headquarters between dozens of

Trump supporters and a small group chanting “Black lives matter.”

As the police set up a barricade, the president’s supporters responded by yelling “legal votes matter,” “all lives matter” and “does your life matter?”

Flor Cerrato, an accountant from Los Angeles in a pink Trump cap and red Trump mask, said she came to the protest because she believed that the president had “already won by landslide.”

“Why don’t they just let it go,” she said while holding a “Latinos-Americans 4 Trump” sign. “They’re trying to switch the numbers around.”

Republican leaders appeared at some protests reviving oft-used claims of irregularities that have in the past been debunked or shown to be greatly exaggerated. Outside a nondescript warehouse in North Las Vegas where most of the uncounted votes in Clark County remain, they erected a podium in the street.

Broadcasting on a hastily announced livestream, the former Nevada attorney general, Adam Laxalt, said Republicans had filed a lawsuit after discovering evidence of dead people and out-of-state voters illegally casting ballots in Nevada — but he did not provide any specifics to support those claims.

“We’re asking the judge to, due to all of these irregularities, to stop the counting of improper votes,” he said.

Mr. Laxalt was joined by Matt Schlapp, chairman of the American Conservative Union, and Ric Grenell, former acting director of national intelligence.

Dozens of flag-waving Trump supporters looked on, and trucks with Trump flags circled the block, some gunning their engines and honking their horns.

Mr. Grenell refused to answer questions, telling reporters, “Listen, you are here to take in information.” As reporters shouted questions, the speakers got into a van and drove away.



AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protesters near the White House in Washington on Thursday.

ZOOMING IN

IT’S THE LITTLE THINGS

Turning away from the clamor, our photographers captured the mood of the election through some of the smallest details.



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LEVANT, MAINE

UNEXPECTED GLITCHES

Domestic Interference in the Vote: Hand Sanitizer, Power Failures, Bad Plumbing

By NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS

Poll workers in Derry, N.H., learned the hard way earlier this year that hand sanitizer and paper ballots do not mix. So on Election Day, they carefully repositioned the gallon tubs of sanitizer from the entrance of their polling place to the exit, hoping to keep voters from gunking up their ballots.

But their effort could not stop the woman who brought her own bottle of hand sanitizer and applied a heavy lather as she voted, dampening the paper so much that the AccuVote ballot reader refused to accept it. When the soggy ballot was finally yanked out of the jammed contraption, there was no mistaking what had happened: Everyone could see the voter’s wet handprint on the paper.

“I don’t know what it is about hand sanitizer, maybe it’s the alcoholic content, but if you ever tried to pour hand sanitizer on nicer paper, it almost — I don’t want to say it disintegrates, but it makes it weaker,” said Tina Guilford, the top election official in Derry, who has come to learn how to process those accidentally sanitized ballots.

In a year when interference by foreign governments, armed protesters and voter suppression were considered the main threats at the polls, some Election Day holdups were the result of everyday municipal malfunctions.

Those setbacks highlight the decentralized nature of national elections, which rely on hundreds of thousands of everyday people to work the polls. And they bring attention to what some advocates have been urging for years: the need for better basic infrastructure in some voting locations, including new polling places to reduce crowding and improved systems to register online or vote by mail.

Lawrence Norden, the director of the election reform program at New York University’s Brennan Center for Justice, said election officials seemed better prepared this year, in part because of the microscope the coronavirus pandemic

demanded and fears of meddling placed over the 2020 election. Congress also sent \$400 million to the states as part of the economic stimulus bill signed by President Trump in March to help them make adjustments for safe elections, although some Democrats said at the time that more money was needed.

“There’s no question that our election infrastructure is chronically underfunded,” Mr. Norden said, although he noted that more money, private and public, had flowed to election planning in recent years.

In the 2018 midterm elections, voters cast ballots at about 230,871 polling places, where more than 637,000 poll workers — two-thirds of whom were older than 60 — signed them in, guided them to their ballots and counted their votes. That patchwork of election districts and poll workers makes mishaps impossible to avoid, experts said, but can also keep an incident at one polling place from affecting a broader region.

“The fact that we do fundamen-

tally run elections by volunteer citizens in their local communities, that keeps a minor or even a major problem happening in one place from bringing down our democracy,” said Maggie Toulouse Oliver, the New Mexico secretary

Localized, everyday malfunctions caused scattered problems.

of state and president of the National Association of Secretaries of State.

This week saw a variety of such small-scale interruptions. In Atlanta, the culprit was leaky plumbing. Inside the arena where the Atlanta Hawks play basketball — converted into a polling place — the early-morning discovery that a burst pipe was leaking water into a room with absentee ballots delayed the count by a couple of hours. An arena staff member

quickly fixed the leak, and none of the ballots were damaged, officials said.

Several polling places in Louisiana were running on generators after lingering power failures caused by Hurricane Zeta, which led to a feud between local and state officials over who was responsible for sending the generators to election sites. Officials ultimately moved two polling locations to a nearby middle school, and there were no serious delays.

In Hidalgo County in South Texas, just across the border from Mexico, it was a technical glitch. New laptops that had been distributed to polling sites ahead of Election Day to help accommodate the region’s record-breaking turnout did not work, causing delays of up to 90 minutes on Tuesday morning.

“They were not allowing the software program to open up to check in voters,” Yvonne Ramon, the county elections administrator, said. “And because they were scattered throughout the county, my field service technicians took

off to the nearest locations. We’re a large county, so going from location to location is not an easy thing.”

Ms. Ramon noted that hiccups with new technology were not unusual. But the county kept polling places open an additional hour on Tuesday night to make up for the earlier delays, and everyone who had come out to cast a ballot was ultimately able to do so, she said.

In the battleground state of Wisconsin, the last few hundred votes went unreported for several hours because the Richland County clerk could not reach the clerk in the town of Willow, who had said she felt sick and then could not be reached, according to The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel. Willow’s 274 votes were eventually reported. In Green Bay, the count of absentee votes was briefly delayed while an election official ran over to City Hall to get more ink for the vote-counting machines.

Poll workers face unexpected glitches every year, but warnings about distorted tallies or delayed counts made voters and observers more on edge than usual about

any oddities. None of the complications this week led to serious problems, elections officials said. Some, like the hand sanitizer incident, were the result of an election severely altered by coronavirus precautions.

Until this year, “Hand sanitizer was never a thing at a polling place,” said Ms. Guilford, the official in Derry, where just over 18,000 people voted. The ballot that jammed the machine was ultimately hand counted, and the ballot reader was taken out of service, she said.

Hand sanitizer had tripped up other ballot machines in New Hampshire earlier this year, and on Tuesday in Iowa, requiring one of the machines to be fixed.

Daniel Healey, the town clerk in Derry, said election officials had done what they could to keep it from happening again, but that they could not stop everything.

“There was way less hand sanitizer this time,” he said, but some people brought their own. “There’s no way to stop it entirely.”



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Caitlin Dickerson contributed reporting.

Left, absentee ballots being counted in State Farm Arena in Atlanta on Wednesday, a day after a burst pipe in a room with absentee ballots delayed the count for a couple of hours. Right, members of the adjudication review panel examining a scanned ballot at the Fulton County Election Preparation Center in Atlanta.



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DEBATING DEMOCRACY

U.S. Election Is a High-Stakes Political Struggle. In Russia.

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — Seven hours into Leonid Volkov’s election-night YouTube marathon, viewers waking up in Russia were asking who had won.

“We don’t know,” a bleary-eyed Mr. Volkov said. “This is what you call an unpredictable election.”

Mr. Volkov is a top aide to Aleksei A. Navalny, the Russian opposition leader, and his all-night live-stream about the American presidential election departed from the Navalny team’s typical online fare about corrupt oligarchs and local officials trampling democratic principles.

In Russia, the drawn-out aftermath of America’s Election Day has become the focus of a domestic political struggle in its own right, feeding a debate over whether Russia’s tightly scripted political landscape has unique advantages over American democracy.

To defenders of President Vladimir V. Putin, President Trump’s false claims of widespread election fraud have emerged as perhaps the best proof yet that democracy is a recipe for disaster.

Mr. Putin’s opponents are countering with their own narrative: The sheer unpredictability and tinge of chaos surrounding the world’s most consequential election underscore the greatness of a free system.

“Compare this to the most shameful ‘elections’ that Putin and his clique put on for us,” another opposition politician, Genadi V. Gudkov, wrote on Twitter Thursday, “with a result drawn up in advance by the crooks from the Central Election Commission on orders from the Kremlin!”

The stakes in how Russians interpret the American electoral process this year are high, and Mr. Putin’s allies know it. Pro-democracy activists in Russia and around the world have long worried that turmoil in the West — and Mr. Trump’s undermining of American institutions — could discredit liberal ideals in their countries.

“All this stuff, the criticism by Trump, de facto functions to justify

Russian authoritarianism,” said Aleksandr V. Kynev, a Russian political scientist. “It all finds very fertile ground in Russia because we have mass distrust in our own elections.”

Russia is a democracy on paper, but Mr. Putin largely eliminated democratic freedoms early in his 20-year rule. The country still holds elections, with the opposition candidates generally hand-picked by the authorities to provide a facade of choice. Only in very rare cases do they win.

But many Russians are interested in how democracy can work, and how a political battle really looks, Mr. Volkov said, explaining why he undertook his marathon YouTube broadcast. “For us,” he said, by way of contrast, “it’s a huge triumph when we manage to register a candidate.”

The Kremlin’s allies, however, saw this week’s election as an opportunity to cast Western democracy as prone to chaos, in contrast to the stability offered by Mr. Putin.

Margarita Simonyan, the editor of the state-run RT television network,

posted on Twitter Wednesday night that the American election was “neither free nor fair.” Vladimir Solovyov, a prominent talk-show host, said the United States had “managed to deliver a crushing blow against what trust

remained in the procedure of elections itself.”

Mr. Trump’s contentions of voter fraud allowed the Kremlin’s allies, who are used to hearing allegations of rigged elections from pro-Western opponents, to basically turn the tables.

On Russian state television, anchors and analysts commenting on the American election deployed the same terms the Russian opposition routinely uses to describe falsified elections at

home. There was talk of “vbrosty,” or ballot stuffing, and the use of “administrative resources,” the common practice by rulers across the post-Soviet space to use the tools of government to win elections and hobble opponents.

“Even if Biden is declared the winner, Trump will have every reason and ability, including his notorious administrative resources, to dunk the Democrats in the mud in the most unbelievable way,” one pro-Kremlin pundit, Aleksei A. Mukhin, opined on the Rossiya-24 state-controlled news channel on Thursday.

The pattern of the vote count in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania — with Mr. Trump taking the early lead, followed by Mr. Biden’s rapid gains from absentee ballots — led Mr. Putin’s allies to echo the accusations of vote stuffing that the opposition often makes in Russia and in Belarus.

Mr. Trump’s questioning of the integrity of the vote count, a ruling-party lawmaker named Oleg V. Morozov thundered on a state TV talk show Thursday, evoked the recent upheaval in another

post-Soviet country: Kyrgyzstan.

“We’re seeing the Kyrgyzization of the American electoral system,” Mr. Morozov said. “The main pillar on which America has always relied has been put in question.”

The Kremlin said it would wait for “some kind of clarity” in the election results before commenting, but the Foreign Ministry leapt at the opportunity to criticize the United States with the same kind of language that some Russians believe Washington has long, and wrongly, lectured them with.

“With the opponents for the post of president running approximately equal to each other, the obvious faults of the American electoral system become clear,” the Foreign Ministry’s spokeswoman, Maria V. Zakharova, said. “This is partially explained by the archaic legal code and its ambiguity on key matters, as we have said more than once.”

But the images on Russian television of poll workers across America diligently counting ballots may have told their own story about how a democracy functions.

Critics of the Kremlin have next to no ability to use the television airwaves, so some tried to deploy social media to push back on the narrative of election fraud in America. Vladimir Milov, an adviser to Mr. Navalny, wrote on Facebook that the count of American mail-in ballots could be trusted — unlike in Russia, where remote voting is especially prone to falsification.

“This isn’t Russia, where they hide ballots in a safe at night that the election committee chairman has a key to,” Mr. Milov wrote.

Mr. Putin, for his part, won the right to run for two more six-year terms in a constitutional referendum this summer that was carefully orchestrated to deliver a win for him.

But if Mr. Putin chooses not to run again, he would lead a privileged existence unavailable even to a post-presidency Mr. Trump, whose company faces a civil investigation by New York’s attorney general.

A bill introduced in the Russian Parliament on Thursday would give ex-presidents lifetime immunity from prosecution.

CONGRESS

Trump Grievances Met With Silence From Republicans

By CATIE EDMONDSON

Republicans on Capitol Hill, including the party’s top leaders, remained largely silent on Thursday as President Trump and his campaign continued to baselessly claim that Democrats were trying to “steal” the election, and urge officials around the country to stop counting legally cast ballots.

Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the Republican leader, sought on Wednesday to sidestep questions about whether he agreed with Mr. Trump that election officials should halt their tabulations.

“What the president wants to make sure is that every legal vote is counted,” Mr. McCarthy told reporters. “That people vote up until Election Day — not the days after as others would have. That’s what the president refers to.”

With former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. apparently on the cusp of winning the election as he gained ground in Georgia and Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump has escalated his protestations, seething on Twitter to “STOP THE FRAUD” as workers in key states continued to process ballots in accordance with the law.

One Republican offered a rare rebuke of the president for his statements.

Representative Adam Kinzinger of Illinois, took exception early Wednesday morning to a false assertion by Mr. Trump that Democrats were attempting to steal the election.

“Stop. Full stop,” Mr. Kinzinger wrote on Twitter. “The votes will be counted and you will either win or lose. And America will accept that. Patience is a virtue.”

In a mildly worded statement congratulating Mr. Trump on winning his home state, Senator Rob Portman, Republican of Ohio, also called for the vote-counting process to be allowed to proceed, saying: “We should respect that process and ensure that all ballots cast in accordance with state laws are counted. It’s that simple.”

But most of their Republican colleagues in Congress, who have stood by Mr. Trump through years of norm-shattering behavior, ignored the president’s comments.



Election workers with the Philadelphia City Commissioners office sorting ballots on Wednesday.

KRISTON JAE BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Oleg Matsnev and Sophia Kishkovsky contributed research.

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Adjusting to life upended.
Wanting connection.
Passing the time.
Reimagining home.
Understanding risks.
Searching for answers.
Remembering what's lost.
Calling for change.
Looking for meaning.
Honoring lives.



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